

**AN ANALYSIS OF GENDERED METAPHORS IN SELECTED ZIMBABWEAN  
SHONA SONGS**

by

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## Declaration

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AN ANALYSIS OF GENDERED METAPHORS IN SELECTED ZIMBABWEAN SHONA  
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I declare that the above thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted  
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## **Abstract**

This qualitative study analyses gendered metaphors in selected Zimbabwean Shona songs. The study explores how musicians deploy gendered metaphors to propagate, reinforce or challenge gender views and positions held in the Zimbabwean contemporary society. The corpus of data comprised Shona popular songs released between 1988 and 2018 and down loaded from YouTube. The songs were transcribed, translated into English and metaphors identified and interpreted using a combination of the Pragglejaz Group (2007), Steen (2007) and Charteris-Black (2004) metaphor identification methods. Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis was adopted as the key theory and method of analysis. The analysis drew support from Lazar's (2007) Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, Foucault (1980) and Butler's (1990) ideas on discourse and gender. The findings reveal that Zimbabwean musicians singing in Shona discursively use gendered metaphors to construct, reinforce or challenge views and positions on gender. While the metaphors describe and evaluate men and women positively and negatively for ideological purposes, the metaphors largely marginalise women more than men. The metaphors therefore, have the effect of legitimising and naturalising male dominance in the Zimbabwean society. However, the same musicians occasionally utilise metaphor discursual power to resist, challenge and control the dominance. Metaphors become a conduit through which topical contemporary gender issues, norms and values, gender views and positions are highlighted and debated. Two contesting ideologies were noted: one ideology emphasised that women are inferior to men and men should tolerate them for their weaknesses and the second projected women as men's equals and that men and women roles complement each other. It is the conclusion of this study that gendered metaphors in Shona song lyrics allow musicians to discursively and for ideological purposes reinforce, contest and negotiate various gender perspectives making metaphors a powerful tool for shaping views on gender. Therefore

the research, recommends that stakeholders recognise and promote the critical role played by language on inculcating gender perceptions in such domains as music, to come up with language programmes that promote gender parity and equality in society.

### **Key Terms**

Gendered metaphors; Zimbabwean Shona songs; Critical Metaphor Analysis; Ideology, Persuasion; Asymmetric power relations; Gender construction; Power contestation; hegemony; masculinity.

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to my late mother, Anne Mahuda, and my father, Jimmy Badson. Though my parents did not attain formal education themselves, they always inspired me. My special thanks go to my wife, Gugulethu and my two boys, Prince and Leslie, who were patient to have a “missing” father for three years.

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background to the study**

This study falls within the broad area of Applied Linguistics in the context of media discourse. Applied Linguistics focuses on the practical application of various relevant theories in domains such as media, religion, politics, sport, music and others. The study executes a critical analysis of gendered metaphors in selected Shona song lyrics. Existing research shows that music is a powerful purveyor of cultural values, beliefs, norms and expectations (Finnegan, 2012; Holtzman, 2000; Steen, 2002; Shuker, 2007). Acknowledging the critical role of music, Shuker (2007) observes that, as an art form, popular music engages the masses on matters of deep interest and concern to the people who produce and consume it. Through its messages and commentaries, music constructs reality according to expectations of the society. Songs tell us what is happening in society, the debates and views around issues such as gender perceptions, identities and relations. The lyrics, however, do not always present issues from a neutral perspective as they constitute mediated reality (Finnegan, 2012). This positions musicians in a critical position that privilege them to reflect on societal concerns, expectations and views on issues of interest. However, as expected, space constraints impose limitations on musicians to play around with words necessitating the use of metaphors. This makes a metaphor a valuable linguistic tool that allows ideas to be condensed into a word or a phrase. Metaphors make it possible for the musician to manoeuvre and make meaning of unfamiliar phenomena by drawing a comparison between what is known and the unknown phenomena (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Discourse analysts have pointed out that in contexts where the main aim is to persuade, a metaphor has the potential to promote controversial concepts without incurring the risk of being legally or socially held responsible (Koller, 2004; Ellece, 2011; Musolff, 2012). Singling out use of metaphors in politics. Musolff (2012:304) argues that a metaphor has a dominant nonchalant value that allows speakers to express and insinuate even most extreme

views under the guise of subjectively coloured figurative speech. Thus, a metaphor becomes an apt linguistic tool that musicians, in the name of art, may also utilise effectively and to their advantage to disseminate polemic points of view, escaping the back lash that normally attracts such views. Positively though in languages a metaphor makes it possible for the speaker to obviate what is considered a taboo subject or inappropriate to talk about in certain contexts. Where gender is concerned, lyrical discourse has often been accused of sustaining gendered social arrangements through constructing gender identities and ideologies that disadvantage women and exalt men (Nhlekisana, 2013; Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2013; Thiongo, 2015). While the first and foremost role of music is entertainment, its other roles of informing, educating and persuading should not be ignored. If the other roles are also considered, a metaphor in a song becomes a focal point that interests discourse analysts in order to lay bare the persuasive linguistic tactics utilised by the musicians to make audiences accept particular views on topical subjects such as gender. Therefore, as a linguistic tool, a metaphor is worth giving attention because its meaning value is sometimes lost to the audience, especially when one tries to draw a line between art and rhetoric designed to achieve ideological effects. Thus, when subjected to analysis, real intentions of the metaphor can be revealed.

A metaphor is a linguistic device that is used to creatively represent one thing in terms of the other (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Musolff, 2012; Deignan, 2000; Charteris-Black, 2004). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), a conceptual metaphor consists of a structural mapping between a source conceptual domain and a target conceptual domain. Hence, when we reason metaphorically we reason about one concept (target domain), in terms of another (source domain). We therefore use the source domain that is familiar to us to understand the target domain. Target domains are normally abstract or complex concepts that we understand through the concrete objects within our experience. These conceptual metaphors are then

realised through linguistic expressions. For instance, the conceptual metaphor MARRIAGE IS A UNION may yield such linguistic metaphors as it may *break/be dissolved*, partners may *rekindle* their *vows*, and partners may *patch* their differences. Musolff (2012) argues that metaphors simplify hard to understand concepts as well as to highlight what is wanted and mask what is not wanted. A metaphor has high persuasive functions in discourse as it may impart value judgement (Charteris-Black, 2004; Musolf, 2012; Deignan, 2000). Musolf further argues that because text producers can choose what aspects of the concept they will emphasise more or less consciously or unconsciously reveal their value judgement, which in turn exposes their ideological stance on an issue (Musolf, 2012). Musolf's observation is supported by Charteris-Black (2005:13) who referring to use of metaphor in politics, asserts that a metaphor "influences the value system that we place on ideas and beliefs on a scale of goodness and badness, by transferring positive or negative associations of various words to a target domain". It is some of these functions that make a metaphor apt linguistic tool not only in political domains but in others such as music discourse where impartation of values and positions may be intended to cause people to act in certain ways.

Metaphors have been extensively researched in Western and Asian contexts (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller and Semino, 2009; Silaski 2006; Koller 2006; Lee, Shen and Kao, 2003) but much of the research has been on media and political discourse. Metaphor research in Africa is fairly new although most African languages are considered highly metaphorical (Ellece, 2011). As noted in politics metaphor plays a critical role in discourse. Similarly, for musicians a metaphor is more than a non-intrusive linguistic tool that permits the musician to deal with space constraints while making sure that his or her communication is effective and appropriate. However, despite its rhetorical effects being established in political and economic discourse, discourse analysts have generally ignored the persuasive element of metaphor in music (Koller,

2005; Charteris –Black 2006). Few studies have delved into music discourse, and most cases, they have done so without exploring the persuasive element of metaphor in the discourse. Many of the studies have also tended to focus on language in general (Chari, 2008; Mateveke, 2013; Vambe, 2001; Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2013) thereby forming a literary or sociological perspective. Consequently, there is generally a paucity of systematic research on the conceptualisation of gender through metaphor, more so in Shona songs in particular. This is despite the fact that the contribution of music lyrics to gender narratives has long been acknowledged the world over (Adorno, 1941; Longhurst 2007; Holtzman, 2000; Dibben 1999; Vambe, 2001; Esmaili and Amerian, 2013). This thesis takes a paradigm shift by embarking on a systematic analysis of gendered metaphors to unravel how musicians rhetorically construct, challenge and negotiate gender notions in Shona song. The research is motivated by the fact that music lyrics provide an interesting site where metaphorical framing, like in politics, has the potential to change how people understand and evaluate gender issues in Zimbabwe (Charteris-Black, 2004). Using Charteris-Black's (2004) theoretical framework, adopted for its eclectic approach and focus on discourse analysis, the research explores conceptual metaphors and their linguistic manifestations in Shona song lyrics to expose how musicians utilise metaphors to project persuasively gender, power relations, and gender ideology or ideologies. The study will also utilise Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis by drawing from Butler (1990) gender and Foucault (1977)'s ideas and theoretical assumptions on discourse, gender and power to broaden the analysis.

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) is a type of analytical research methodology dedicated to primarily studying how language users construct and use metaphors to enact, reproduce and resist by text and talk any inequality in social and political contexts (Charteris-Black, 2004). Analysts utilising the framework take explicit positions and want to understand, expose and

ultimately resist social inequality. The CMA research framework is used in this study to provide a guide to understanding how musicians discursively use metaphors and reasons thereof to perpetuate or challenge asymmetrical power relations through examining Shona song texts about men and women.

## **1.2 An overview of discourse, gender and music**

The term discourse assumes different definitions in context. The simple definition that is given is that discourse is communication through talk. Gee (1999) views discourse as what we use to think, speak and write with. Gee further notes that discourse mirrors our thoughts, how we conceptualise issues such as gender and facilitates an exchange of views about things that affect people's lives. It is Gee's contention that these ideas may conflict if they are not shared. While discourse may be appropriated by those who are in positions of power to create hegemony through explicit or implicit use of language (Atanga, Allece, Litosseliti and Sunderland, 2012), discourse can also be used to challenge the appropriation and construct counter-narratives beneficial to the marginalised. Therefore, given the critical role that discourse plays in society, discourse analysts should unpack and expose discourses that seek to maintain the dominance of one group over the other such as metaphorical conceptualisation of gender in song.

The term gender, on the other hand, has been loosely defined to mean either being male or female. Disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, philosophy and linguistics reject this definition (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Many of the disciplines prefer to explain it from two perspectives, that is, essentialism and constructivism. The essentialist perspective asserts that gender denotes biological sex making it binary with categories of male and female (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). According to this view, sex is natural, stable and God-given, making it difficult to change. This view has, however, been criticised for failing to take



into account categories that do not fit neatly into these socially acceptable categories. For instance, when one is biologically female or male, but reality presents herself or himself as male, female, in all manner of behaviour, or speaking. An argument that has been put forward is that essentialism encourages stereotypes leading to negative qualities being given to all those who share an identity category (Baker and Ellece, 2011). According to this view, if differences exist, these are only exaggerated to present that as abnormal.

In contrast to the essentialist view, is the constructionist view of gender. Those who subscribe to this view, argue that gender is a social phenomenon that is constructed through language and performance (Atanga et al, 2013; Butler, 1996; Wodak, 2015; Litosseliti, 2006)). The view emphasises how discourse is used discursively to construct among other concepts, gender notions that people in society hold, racism or patriarchy (Eckert and Mc Connel-Ginet 2003). In particular, Butler argues that gender is not something people have at birth but is acquired within cultural settings. According to her, people acquire gender through performance in everyday interactions that involve how language is used and how women behave in given cultural settings. To her gender is mediated and regulated through performance and discourse. Accordingly, therefore, discourse in any context does not only construct views that people hold on gender but is also used to maintain or challenge those views (Potter 1996; West and Zimmerman and Lewis, 1987). In that regard, discourse plays a socialising role in society and as noted by linguists, girls learn female roles, they are labelled as “girls”, and boys learn male roles, and they are labelled as “boys” (West and Zimmerman, 1987:126-7). If these arguments are considered therefore, gender is a product of social interaction and not biological as being male or female. This makes a metaphor an invaluable linguistic tool in the construction of gender that needs close attention to understand how gender views come to exist or are

propagated. The rationale being that, if people gain a better understanding of the meaning value of metaphors, they may use them carefully or avoid using them.

While not dismissing that gender can be performed, Lewis (2004) argues that gender also manifests itself in writing, the intonation of speech, aspirations, expectations and the realisation of goals, all influenced by institutional differentiation, power and culture. Sunderland (2004) weighs in and argues that construction presupposes partiality and subjectivity as the individual may have a point of view to express. In this sense, discourse use in any context can be viewed as constructive and constitutive (Potter, 1996:98). Thus, the constructionist view of gender perceives gender as the ways culture reformulates what begins as a fact of nature. This gives discourse in music or other media, a gendering role (transmits cultural beliefs, values, norms and expectations) and makes it gendered (reflects beliefs, values, norms and expectations related to gender).

The constructionist view, however, acknowledges that the construction of gender views, the different roles or communities pass on to individuals are subject to change all the time. Thus, implicating that gender views are always evolving and may reflect views, biases and perceptions in the society or community at a given time (Allard, Cooper, Hildebrand and Wealands 1995:24). Allard et al. posit that while educational institutions and the media expose us to gender views, recipients still have the capacity to accept or reject some of the views. It can be argued, therefore, that while agencies play a critical role in the construction of gender views an individual can hold at any given time, gender views in society are negotiated with the possibility that some views are rejected or adapted. Analysis of music discourse, therefore, makes it possible for us to understand how lyrical discourse is used to accomplish, achieve,

enact and affect gender, power distribution and its exercise and how people become aware of ideologies underlying the use of linguistic tools such as metaphors.

Research has noted that music discourse serves many functions in society (Koller, 2008; Atanga et al, 2013; Ellece, 2011; Fairclough, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2005). These functions include providing a platform in which social issues are highlighted and debated. Music also transmits cultural beliefs, values and norms through media such as music (Fairclough, 2003). Given such a relationship between discourse and society, messages constructed and sung by musicians reflect gender relations in a society and highlights debates around the relations. It is the assumption of this thesis that a metaphor plays a pivotal role in transmitting particular realities even in music (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). As role models and opinion leaders in society, musicians are, therefore, well placed to set the agenda of what society talks about while also making their views on gender relations known. Thus, the views propagated by the musicians may affect how men and women perceive themselves, their sexuality, and how they relate to each other (Sunderland, 2015). Given the critical role played by lyrical discourse in any society, research should, therefore, unpack how musicians manufacture consent through a creative use of linguistic tools such as metaphors.

### **1.3 Shona language and popular music in Zimbabwe**

Shona is the most widely spoken language in Zimbabwe. According to Ethnologue <https://www.ethno.com/country/zw/languages>, slightly over nine million people speak Shona as a first language or a second language. Due to migration, the figure gets bigger as Shona speakers can also be found in Botswana, Mozambique, and South Africa. Considering the population that speaks and understands Shona, it is the assumption of this study that Shona has a wide audience and influence in the Zimbabwean society. Messages on gender in songs are, therefore, likely

to have an impact on perceptions the majority of Zimbabweans hold on gender and the ensuing gender relations. As a result of their privileged position, musicians singing in Shona also participate in societal debates on cultural, values, beliefs, norms and or political events which may also include debate on gender (Adinkrah 2008:299). Given this wide potential influence of Shona songs on gender perceptions to Shona speakers, this study seeks to have a deeper understanding of how metaphors contribute in shaping audiences' views on gender in Zimbabwe and beyond.

#### **1.4 Defining popular music**

The term popular music attracts various definitions. The simple definition is that popular music is a type of music that is easy to make and is liked by many people (Shuker, 2007). According to Shuker popular music cuts across social classes for its audience. This definition has been criticised for being simplistic. One of the criticism has been what 'popular' refers to. To unpack further what popular music is. Williams (1976: 199) asks what the word popular in the term "popular music" means. He speculates on whether "popular" suggests what is well-liked by "many people" or what is produced by the people. Williams also muses whether or not the term "popular music" is a derogatory term that refers to poorly produced music. The distinction between "popular music" and "serious music" is evident in the works of Adorno (1941) in which he differentiates popular music from other music by its standardization and formula. For him, serious music does have music schemes and has a formulaic or repetitive style. Adorno (1941:310) argues that the standardization of popular music is a result of the culture industry and mass production that robs listeners of any choice. Connolly and Krueger (2006), however, view popular music as music listened to by many people and associated with musicians of a particular era. In Southern Africa, this type of music includes Mbaqanga, Maskandi, Sungura, reggae and Jiti, while in the Western world it includes Rock and Roll, Pop, Rap, Behop, Jazz,

Blues, and other genres (Masau, 2014). This research adopts the definition that popular music is a widely available music that does not require elaborate composition and performance. Therefore, what is regarded as popular music in Zimbabwe is an amalgam of different genres less elaborate in composition and performing, widely available as entertainment at funerals, weddings, in taxis, private cars, buses, shops, and at live concerts.

### **1.5 Overview of popular music studies in Africa**

Contrary to the common belief that popular music is a protest genre either negative or positive, studies have shown that it covers a wide range of purposes. The domains under which it has concerned itself include politics, identity, protest and revolutionary purposes (Adejoke, 2011). Ballantine (2004) explores roles, power relations between men and women segregation and racial discrimination, which is a vehicle of social integration and a unifying force between blacks and Whites in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa. Coplan (2001) investigates the role of popular music in Post-Apartheid South Africa by focusing on genres such as Maskandi and Mqhashiyo. Elsewhere in Nigeria, Olaniyan (2004) has investigated Fela Anikulapo Kuti messages on tyranny, oppression and corruption. In other contexts, popular music has been shown to be archivist as it documents socio-political upheavals and achievements. Studies also show that its target is not just negative issues in society but has been used to advocate for cultural revivalism, social integration and campaign against social discrimination (Adogou, 2008; Ballantine, 2004; Wambura, 2016). The genre has also been quite handy in promoting government policy, for example to mobilise the youth mass reorientation (Emielu, 2008). It is quite evident therefore, that popular music goes beyond exposing social ills but can be utilised to promote developmental programmes that are good for the members of society. It is therefore, envisaged that analysis of gendered metaphors in

popular Shona songs may contribute to understanding of the collective experience of the Shona people; their past, their daily lives and new collective knowledge and beliefs related to gender.

## **1.6 Shona popular music genres of Zimbabwe**

Attempting a classification of Shona popular music is a difficult task (Masau, 2014). Masau asserts that the popular music genre played in Zimbabwe overlaps although there are some musicians whose music is easy to categorise. Masau gives the example of Thomas Mapfumo who is famous for Traditional Mbira music, yet he has played Jiti at times. Popular Shona music in Zimbabwe, therefore, covers a wide range of genres such as Jiti, Urban Grooves, Dancehall, Chimurenga, Gospel and Jazz. While Thomas Mapfumo is credited for popularising Chimurenga music during the war of liberation in Zimbabwe, other musicians such as Sekuru Tau, Pio Macheka and Jairos Chabvonga have also contributed to the development of the music genre. There is also the neo-traditional music that fuses Mbira/Marimba and modern instruments popularised by such artists as Stella Chiweshe, the late Dumisani Maraire, the late Chioniso Maraire, the late Andy Brown and Hope Masike. Jiti is associated with musicians such as the late Oliver Mtukudzi, Paul Mpopfu, the Famous Seven and Biggie Tembo although Oliver Mtukudzi's music has often been classified as Tuku Music.

There is also Sungura music which is, a genre whose roots originated in East Africa, often associated with names such as the late Ephraim Joe, the late John Chibadura, Mitchell Jambo, the late SystemTazvida, Nicholas Zacharia, the late Leonard Dembo and Alick Macheso (Masau, 2014). Dendera music, a sub-genre of Sungura music, is yet another form of popular music. The genre was popularised by the late Chimbetu brothers, that is, Simon, and Naison and later enhanced by the Chimbetus' younger brother Allan and the Chimbetus' three sons, Sulumani, Douglas and Tryson. The music is trade marked by the sound of the hornbill bird.

Gospel music is also a form of popular music in Zimbabwe and such musicians sing the genre; Charles Charamba, Fungisai Mashavave, Blessing Shumba, Mechanic Manyeruke, Mathias Mhere, Sebastian Magacha, Vabati vaJehovah and others. Much of the gospel music rides on popular verses and hymns and its sound is a fusion of Sungura, Jazz, *Jiti* and even Chimurenga beats.

Urban Grooves is another form of popular music in Zimbabwe. Masau (2014) describes Urban Grooves as a fusion of rhythm and blues (R&B) and local beats. This is popularised by people such as David Chifunyise, Roki, Alexio Kawara and many others. On the other hand, the Zim dancehall genre includes music from such musicians as Winky D, Sniper Storm, Killer, T and others. One notable characteristic of this genre is that it is produced in the backyard studio. Jazz music is part of the genre of popular music in Zimbabwe and is played by musicians such as Tanga Wekwa Sando, Bob Nyabinde, Oliver Mtukudzi, The Cool Crooners, Steve Dongi Makoni and others (Masau, 2014).

It is from this wide array of genres that data are purposively selected using gender themes. The many genres of popular Shona music provide a wide base from which the data are drawn for intensive analysis. It also ensures that women musicians are included in the period selected (1988 to 2018) as the noted trend from the initial survey is that, some women musicians have appeared on the music scene, for two to three years, and then disappeared. The three decades that this thesis target, ensure that the research also includes the contribution of women musicians in the construction of gender concepts through music. The domain of focus for the research is popular music that talks about man and woman identities, social roles and relations.

## **1.7 Overview of gender in post independent Zimbabwe and the Shona society**

At independence, the government of Zimbabwe manifested in all manner and action a willingness to redress the historical gender imbalances existing before independence as evidenced by pro-women legislation. Ranchd–Nilsson (2006) observes that many of the legislations were meant to address the legal position of women in terms of property rights, employment suggesting a society undergoing a profound transformation in gender relations. The early years of independence saw women being legally empowered to earn the same salary earned by their male counterparts.

While these positive developments were going on, however, social developments on the ground spoke of discord. Despite proclamations and legislation by the government, the Zimbabwean society continued to exhibit actions that were contrary to a society steering towards gender equality and equity. Parpart (1993) writes that some social actions project society as still patriarchal. Parpart cites the discrimination that women had to endure during the demobilisation of former freedom fighters, organised roundups of women labelled as prostitutes and vagrants through the 1980s. In the street, women adjudged to be improperly dressed were harassed at public places such as taxi ranks. These overt manifestations of gender discrimination and inequalities do not represent all forms of asymmetrical power relations, as there is subtler and complex gender representational hegemonic discourse only detectable through the close reading of texts.

Post independent Zimbabwe has continued to battle issues of asymmetrical gender relations in society. As can be expected media such as music have not been left out of the ongoing debate marking different phases in the history of Zimbabwe. Consequently, musicians are also caught up in the representations of gender identities, power relations and perspectives. This study



seeks to explore how the issue of gender in the Shona society has played out through analysing how musicians singing in Shona use metaphors to construct, represent gender identities and power relations and by extension capture ongoing gender debates in the Shona society. Although much change has taken place in Zimbabwe, the Shona society is still considered patriarchal as men largely remain the heads of families (Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2013; Mateveke 2013 and Chari 2008). Men and women are still expected to fit into certain roles and any deviation courts questions and ridicule (Chiweshe and Bhatasara 2014). Such behaviour as humility, submissiveness, dependence, tactfulness and affection are regarded as key feminine characteristics for women. The Shona society still expects men to be dominant, rough/brusque, independent, aggressive, not emotional, talkative and blunt. Some of these expectations find their way into musicians' songs where they are implicitly or explicitly constructed, reinforced, challenged or negotiated to affect people's views on gender. Contemporary debates on gender assert that in most societies, gender views are not immune to outside influence (Sunderland, 2005; Litosseliti, 2006; Wodak, 2015). Due to increasing globalisation, the dominant cultures' gender views are also slowly creeping into less-dominant cultures. In this way, media such as music provide a discursive site, not just for the construction of gender views and expectations, but also for negotiating and contesting these views. It is the assumption of the thesis that the construction, negotiation and contestation are both covert and overt.

## **1.8 Overview of gender representation in popular Shona songs**

Many studies have explored the issue of gender in popular Shona music in Zimbabwe. Most of these studies acknowledge that conceptualisation and representation of gender in Shona music promotes misogynistic and hegemonic perspectives (Chari, 2008, Mateveke, 2013, Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2013). Generally, the studies do not capture how specific language tools such as metaphors construct specific concepts that challenge these perspectives. It is the assumption

of this thesis that Zimbabwe, which is generally regarded to be still largely a patriarchal society, music voices do not only construct hegemonic masculinities but also challenge and negotiate for alternative views. The music period that this study focuses on is generally over-represented by male musicians. Female musicians seem to appear briefly and disappear. Those who have gone over a decade in music seem to be concentrated in gospel music. Such under-representation means that male musicians dominate popular music. Existing studies of popular music in Zimbabwe have accused male musicians of demeaning women (Chari, 2008; Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2014; Mateveke, 2013; Vambe, 2001). Chari (2008) for instance, notes that urban-grooves music produced by male musicians legitimises women subjugation and condones violence against women. Chari's (2008) investigation representation of women in Urban Grooves is at the lexical level and from a literary perspective. His analysis does not focus on a specific linguistic tool. This study takes a paradigm shift focusing on analysing how metaphors used in popular music either construct or deconstruct gender perspectives in a modern Shona society.

## **1.9 Statement of the problem**

Many societies, Zimbabwe included, continue to bemoan the manifestations of gender disparities, against decades of gender activism, the promulgation of gender-sensitive laws and other affirmative actions. Despite all these efforts to steer society from what are considered as negative gender views and practices, gender prejudices and gender inequality still prevail in most societies with much of gender perceptions and attitudes being attributed to the socialisation process. For instance, in most African countries, (Zimbabwe included) and in other parts of the world, women are still considered less-able candidates for leadership. Such statements as, "America is ready for a female president, but the world isn't ready for us to be represented by one," are still expressed in societies deemed to be paragons of gender

sensitivity” Brumenthal (2015) in responds to American debate on Hilary candidature for the 2016 USA Presidential election. In Zimbabwe, former President Robert Mugabe courted controversy when he described his former deputy (Joyce Mujuru) then as, “a young girl, a mere woman, who could not dethrone me,” (Sasa, 2014). The gender ideology espoused by Robert Gabriel Mugabe in response to Joyce Mujuru to contest the Zimbabwean presidency, ran contrary to Mugabe government’s widely publicised positive view on gender equality and parity. It can be argued that comments on Hilary Clinton and Joyce Mujuru’s suitability as presidential candidates in their respective countries negate gender equality and parity campaigns the world over. The comments betray gender equality efforts so far and can only be interpreted as perpetuating gender attitudes that potently and in all manner foster masculinity hegemony in a world that has sought to change gender attitudes for more than three generations now (Atanga, Ellece, Litosseliti and Sunderland, 2012). Given this state of affairs, it is not what is explicitly said that is worrisome but the subtle ways in which gender views are expressed and continue to be expressed. Metaphorical discourse is one site in which musicians achieve the subtlety necessitating close attention by Critical Discourse Analysts for the benefit of society. Unlike European contexts where great strides have been made to redress gender inequalities and equity, African contexts still need attention by researchers to find ways of improving gender relations. It is against this background that this study explores, through analysis of how gendered metaphors in the musical discourse of musicians singing in Shona reinforce or challenge dominant views and ideologies. The rationale behind such an enterprise, it is hoped, would contribute awareness of how challenges associated with gender could be talked by paying close attention to how language in socializing agents such as music, could be used to reinforce the positive attitudes and change negative ones.

Much of the documented research on gender in music in Zimbabwe has broadly focused on the representation of gender in lyrical discourse without really targeting specific linguistic tools (Mateveke, 2013; Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2013; Chari, 2008 and Vambe, 2001). Where metaphors have been studied, the contexts have not involved music discourse but different contexts such as; football (Chapanga, 2004), street lingua (Kadenge and Mavunga 2010), and metaphors and culture (Machakanja, 2009) and role of metaphor in discourse (Mberi 2003). This is despite the fact that music discourse is a domain where different views about what affects society are shared, discussed, adopted or challenged. As existing research notes, language plays a pivotal role in shaping perceptions in societies (Gramsci, 1998; Lakoff, 1993; Fairclough, 1995; Foucault, 1977) and metaphor in music lyrics is critical to understanding the covert ways through gender views are propagated. Such linguistic studies confirm the critical role language plays in influencing perceptions and attitudes people have regarding social issues such as gender. Music presents a unique site where gender views may be implicitly contested with audiences not being aware that some of the gender views they have could have been picked from listening to music. Ideally, the listener should also be able to discern the discursive element of metaphors in lyrics. This is not always possible for the ordinary listener as metaphor processing demand much more than what words may be employed to mean. A Critical Metaphor Analysis of lyrics in Shona songs, therefore, becomes illuminating in exploring how musicians singing in Shona, use metaphors to persuasively construct, perpetuate or challenge gender notions in the Zimbabwean Shona society. Such an enterprise gives insight into how metaphor framing inclines people to think in particular stereotypical ways on gender.

### **1.10 The aim of the study**

Inspired by cognitive and critical linguists, this research aims to explore and unravel through analysis of popular Shona songs of how musicians employ gendered metaphors to construct,

contest and negotiate gender perspectives and identities. This is done with a view to examining the embedded gender debates and ideology or ideologies, the experiences and realities the metaphors represent and the intended communication effect. To achieve this, the study adopts the following objectives and research questions:

### **1.11 Objectives**

The objectives of this research are to:

1. Explain how gender is embodied through metaphor in Shona lyrical discourse.
2. Examine how gendered metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse influence the Shona views on gender.
3. Explain the nexus between gender debates, Shona cultural beliefs, values and norms and the gendered metaphors.
4. Establish how metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse enact gendered power relations.
5. Create awareness of the role served by gendered metaphors and gendered ideology in Shona music discourse.

### **1.12 Research questions**

1. How is gender embodied through metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse?
2. How do gendered metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse influence the Shona speaker's views on gender?
3. What is the nexus between gender debates, Shona cultural beliefs, values and norms and the gendered metaphors?
4. How do metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse enact gendered power relations?

5. What role is served by gendered metaphors and gendered ideologies in popular Shona music discourse?

### **1.13 Justification of research**

This study is important for a number of reasons. While linguistic research in Zimbabwe has focused on how gender is handled in other media forms, to date Linguistics in Zimbabwe has seen little systematic research that focuses on the rhetorical contribution of metaphors to the construction, subversion or negotiation of gender perspectives/conceptualisations in music. This study is designed to fill that gap. Understanding how musicians treat the issue of gender through metaphors gives insights into how language in music contributes to constructing, fostering or challenging particular gender perceptions and attitudes in the Shona society. Besides that, songs have other characteristics that make them persuasive; accordingly, the lexical aspect remains one of the key elements that appeal to listeners. Analysing gendered metaphors in Shona song lyrics should provide insights into how metaphors are used to conceptualise gender-related issues and the ideologies that drive the choice of the metaphors. The study is also significant because music is a key element of a people's culture that scholars should continuously analyse for new messages and meanings. In this case, it is envisaged that the analysis will reveal not only how gendered metaphors are used artistically to communicate, but also reveal the experiences and realities of Shona-speaking people regarding gender and the communicative intention of the musicians. Currently, research that focuses on gendered metaphors in popular Shona songs discourse remains scant. This research intends to fill the gap for African linguistic studies. The interdisciplinary methodology and methods of cognitive and critical linguistics adopted can also be used in different contexts in the social sciences as well as the humanities to research existing problems from a theoretical standpoint. The research also has a practical value of the application. Stakeholders concerned with the composition of media

messages to promote social programmes can also use the results of the research to formulate policies. The research also makes explicit how metaphorical thinking conditions ideologies. This gives the research an academic value and makes it a useful source of gender policy-formulation and planning guidelines with regard to censorship policies in Zimbabwe and other countries. Lastly, the findings of this study, particularly how musicians use metaphors to discursively present gender issues, could contribute to linguistics and Shona music studies.

#### **1.14 Scope of the study**

The study explores Shona song lyrics of songs sung between 1988 and 2018. The period was envisaged as allowing enough coverage of evolving views on gender, especially after key developments on gender in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. For instance, pro equality laws had been promulgated and in the early 1990s, the world gathered in Beijing to deliberate on women emancipation. The corpus is also gender-sensitive and the songs are purposively selected based on their coverage of gender issues. The study limits itself to songs sung by the Shona-speaking people of Zimbabwe.

#### **1.15 Organisation of the thesis**

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Following this chapter is Chapter 2, which presents a review of the literature. First, the chapter reviews the literature on gender, music discourse and metaphor studies in Western contexts. This is followed by the presentation of theoretical frameworks and methodology used. Gaps in the literature and the findings are also highlighted and discussed. How this study benefits existing studies is also noted and highlighted. To give a broad overview of music discourse studies the literature review is divided into sections. The first section of the review focuses on studies carried out in western contexts. This is then followed by another section focusing on similar studies in Asian contexts. The next section

presents studies of gender and music discourse in African contexts. The final section of the literature review explores gender and music discourse studies in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework that guides the study. The first section presents a detailed discussion of the meaning of the metaphor. The discussion explores how the meaning of metaphor has evolved over time highlighting some criticism and strengths of the definitions offered by different scholars. The definition adopted in the study is also presented and contextualised. Because Critical Metaphor Analysis is an amalgamation of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the chapter gives an overview of these theories and the justification for their being merged into Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). A detailed discussion of Charteris-Black's (2004) framework is presented and its adoption for this study justified.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology of the study and outlines how the data was collected, analysed and interpreted. The first section of the chapter presents the research design adopted for the study and the justification. The philosophical views underlying the concepts discourse and discourse analysis are delineated. This is followed by an overview of the concept of sex and gender from a linguistic point of view. Gender performance and power are also unpacked since they are embedded in the constructionist view of gender (Butler, 1990; Foucault cited in White, 1994).

Chapter 5 presents and analyses the data on gendered metaphors in selected Shona song lyrics, noting and explaining the communicative function of the gendered metaphors and the ideology informing the metaphor-use. The analysis draws on Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis and Butler (1996) and Foucault cited in White (1994) on gender construction and



embedded power relations. The musicians' discursive construction of women and men using a metaphor is examined. The analysis also explores the nexus between contemporary gender debates, cultural values, norms, and gender conceptualisation of the Shona people.

Chapter 6, which is the final chapter, presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study. The first section summarises the research findings. The findings are presented reflecting on the objectives of the research. Conclusions are drawn from the findings. The last section of the chapter then presents the recommendations based on the research findings.

### **1.16 Definition of terms**

**Discourse:** This study adopts Sinclair's (2006) definition of discourse that regards discourse as language in use.

**A metaphor:** for the purpose of this study, is a word or concept that is not literally referring to an existing text and is intentionally mapping across domains (Charteris-Black, 2004). The definition includes those conventionalised metaphors that may pass as ordinary words in texts and those that arise out of the creativity of the language user where they map across domains (Goatly, 2006). It also includes figures of speech that achieve their effect through an association such as hyperbole, metonymy and simile.

**A conceptual metaphor:** according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), is a broad term that allows the researcher to focus on the emergence of metaphorical themes rather than worrying about whether a specific term is used as a metaphor or some literary device that has similar implications to the communicator and the audience. However, in this study, Steen's (2002) interpretation of metaphor analysis is adopted. Steen interprets conceptual metaphor analysis

in a manner that allows for the inclusion of similes and the like as long as the concept maps across the domains (Steen, 2002). Both the term metaphor in its general sense and conceptual metaphor are considered in the identification and analysis of gendered metaphors.

**Gender:** in this study, is used to refer to socially constructed roles assigned to men and women based on their biological sex (Eckert, and McConnel-Ginet, 2000). The definition takes into cognisance the fact that while some roles are universally shared others depend on context. This suggests that gender roles are both dynamic, representing the views of people at a historical time and gender ideologies of that time.

**Gendering and gendered:** metaphors are concepts that signify outcomes socially constructed and give males unfair advantage over females (Reskin and Padavic cited in Pilcher and Whelehan 2004: 59). **Gendered metaphors**, on the other hand, refer to metaphors that are used as linguistic devices to construct gender. A gendered metaphor may be in the form of a word or phrase. The study is cautious to note that gendered would suggest a process that has taken place. However, in this study gendered and gendering would be used interchangeably (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004).

**Ideology:** refers to a social construct, a way of understanding the world that emerges from interaction with particular (public) representations or mental frames that are shared within a community or society (Van Dijk, 1995).

**Hegemony:** refers to a situation where everybody in society acquiesces in one way or the other to a dominant person or social group. The dominated people may not be fully aware of their status vis-a-vis the dominant person or group or have been convinced that it is natural or that

they accept their position because they receive some form of benefits from the relationship. Hegemonic discourses serve to keep in place this unequal relationship by legitimising the relation as natural and common sense.

### **1.17 Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the introduction and background of the study. The area of investigation and the theoretical framework were briefly explored to situate the study in its proper context. The purposes of the study, aim, objectives and questions were also presented. The problem statement, significance and ethical considerations were presented and explored. The chapter has also presented a summary of the chapters subsequent to this chapter. Lastly, the key concepts of the study were briefly explained in terms of their use in the study. The next chapter reviews related literature on metaphor studies.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews literature related to metaphor research. The main purpose of the literature review is to gain an in-depth understanding of what has been covered in the area that the research focuses. Where there are gaps, these will be highlighted and discussed. Discourse on gender studies is also included in the review because of the centrality of the gender issue in the study. The review also notes various theoretical frameworks and methodologies. The relevance of the literature to the current study is also noted and discussed. The chapter first presents a review of the literature of studies carried out in Western contexts. Literature focusing on Asian contexts is reviewed next. The review then moves to studies in Africa and ends with studies that have been carried out in Zimbabwe. Since there are similarities in the language in the print and music media, the review starts with metaphor studies of genres such as political discourse, economic discourse and advertising. The review then explores the literature on gendered and gendering metaphors in music.

### **2.2 Discourse, gender and metaphor studies in Western contexts**

This section of the literature review focuses on music discourse and or metaphor studies drawn from the Western world. The review includes the literature of studies from genres such as political and economic discourse. While these studies are not related to music discourse, the researcher included them because they offer contexts in which language is used for similar purposes, that is, to give, persuade and transmit information. This converges with the role of metaphor that this research attempts to expose in its analysis, *inter alia*, the musician's message to his or her listeners or audience. The review then moves on to studies that focused on music discourse, metaphor and gender.

Despite a surge of interest in research on cognitive linguistics, especially on pragmatic and ideological role of metaphor in political discourse, religious discourse and economic discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller and Semino, 2009; Koller, 2008; Johnson, 2007; Silaski, 2006), there is still need to explore metaphor in other domains and contexts. In Africa, for instance, gender is still very much differentiated (Atanga et al, 2013). Many studies have analysed gendered and gendering language, however, most studies have tended to take a general approach as the analysis of metaphor appears alongside other lexical tools. Extensive studies of metaphor and gender have generally been in areas such as literary studies, sociology and psychology. Music discourse, therefore, needs more attention in order to unravel the subtle ways that people use to reinforce or challenge concepts and cultural values in music. Reviewing such literature of existing studies on metaphor provides a wide basis for understanding how metaphor is used strategically to position both men and women in society and how in abstract ways the linguistic tool evokes socio-cognitive representations of masculinity and femininity, thus, creating gender social domains.

Using systematically organised language data Lakoff and Johnson (1980) studied the cognitive aspect of metaphor. Contrary to the traditional view that metaphor is an ornamental language device Lakoff and Johnson, argue that human thought processes are largely metaphorical. According to the study, metaphor is the means people use to conceptualise abstract ideas and metaphorical expressions are manifestations of conventional thought processes in the human mind. The expressions reflect underlying thought patterns. They exemplify this by the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:46) which generates such linguistic metaphors as:

What he said left a *bad taste in my mouth*.  
All this paper has in it are *raw facts, half-baked ideas* and *warmed-over theories*.  
There are too many factors here for me to *digest*.  
He *devoured* the book.  
This is the *meaty* part of the paper.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further note that metaphorical expressions that we use reflect conventional thought processes in the human mind. The thought processes involve a process they call “mapping” where an abstract idea, target, is mapped on to a source domain which is concrete. The two researchers argue that this mapping is partial, since other aspects of the source may be hidden. While the study exposes that metaphors are cognitive and pervasive, the study has been criticised for using data that are constructed and presented out of context (Jackendoff, 1991; Steen, 1994; Murphy, 1996). The present study uses real people and real language in context to understand how a metaphor is used to construct, reinforce and challenge gender concepts in society. The study also focuses on a different language, Shona, which is not English that Lakoff and Johnson used.

The rhetorical role of metaphors is amply demonstrated by Charteris-Black’s (2004) research, which principally focused on three discourse areas; namely political, religious and media. Drawing from quantitative and qualitative research methodologies Charteris-Black researched metaphors in Labour and Conservative manifestoes, American presidential speeches, press, sports and financial reporting, the Bible and the Koran. His findings in the study of the New Labour party discourse, for instance, show a preponderance of metaphor choices drawing from the lexical field of religion-faith, mission, dogma, doctrine- to apply to this secular domain of politics based on the conceptual schema POLITICS IS RELIGION giving the impression that the politician is a “moral being” (Charteris-Black, 2004:57-64). In his corpora on the British party political manifestos, American presidential speeches, press, sports and financial reporting

and religious texts Charteris-Black adequately exemplified, “the cognitive and emotive effects of metaphor and how they can be employed to achieve pragmatic purposes of persuading people to accept certain ideological positions” (Charteris-Black, 2004:57-64). The study is informative for this present study because the persuasive element of metaphor as noted in Charteris-Black (2004) is critical for a musician whose air is to cause people to accept particular views on gender.

While Charteris-Black’s (2004) area of focus may be different from the music medium, which this research focuses on, his studies offer insights into how metaphors are deployed by language users to do pragmatic and ideological work. The corpora that build-up to the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION is also illustrative of how the conceptual metaphor influences the construction of the linguistic metaphors. Charteris-Black’s study provides ample data on how Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMT) works. His studies, however, focus on Western contexts and use non-musical data sets. This study fills that gap by studying metaphor using music data sets but also in a non-Western context. Atanga, Ellece, Litoselli and Sunderland (2012) observe that non-African contexts exhibit light coverage of sociolinguistic and discourse analytical research on gender and language and if it does exist, the research is concentrated in particular regions and countries. They give the example of South Africa as better researched on gender issues than other Southern African countries. This necessitates the need to explore language issues in music in other African contexts.

Linguistic metaphors have also been a subject of interest in political discourse, especially, their wide use and the telling historical effect of their use. Musolff’s (2007) work dwelt on the impact of the metaphorical use of the word ‘body’ (source domain-human body) to conceptualise a state or society (target domain). He exemplified this through explaining how such metaphors

as “body politic”, “head of government”, “three arms of government”, “government mouthpiece” and how the body politic is described as being “ill” or “diseased” and in need of “cure”. Musolff also cites Hitler’s infamous ideology that tagged the Jews as “parasites”, “poison”, and “infectious bacillus” that penetrated the “bloodstream” of his state and may cause the host nation to “die” (Musolff, 2007:18). In Musolff’s view, Hitler took it upon himself to rid his nation of this disease agent and in this way justified the heinous crimes of World Wars 1 and 2 that affected the entire world for many years. While the study’s focus is not metaphor and gender in music, its focus on the persuasive nature of metaphor in mediating reality is enlightening as it provides a basis for understanding how metaphor are used strategically and ideologically in music.

Koller and Semino (2009) also demonstrated that the function of metaphor in discourse is to construct reality from a particular vantage point, which in turn influences relationships between discourse participants. Koller and Semino investigated the use of metaphor by two German politicians, former Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and Angela Merkel. According to them, the assumption undergirding the study was that speakers could use gendered metaphor to be perceived as masculine or feminine and to benefit the respective cultural associations. However, the study underscores that metaphors used by speakers cannot be explained as an effect of gender.

Using data from interviews excerpts and speeches the researchers found out that the JOURNEY and WAR metaphor dominated the two politicians’ discourse though with varying density. They noted that Merkel used expressions of the JOURNEY metaphor more than Schroeder did. The JOURNEY metaphor serves ideologically functions, that is, to positively evaluate certain policies because the metaphorical journey’ destinations are seen as positive. Koller and Semino



(2009) argue that Merkel exhibits repetitive metaphor use suggesting a strategic use of language to project an image of engagement. On the other hand, Schroeder's journey metaphor foregrounds the notion of problems as obstacles on a journey that needs to be "approached with courage", "overcome", "tackled" and "attacked". The researchers explain Schroeder's use of the metaphor as occasioned by context since the data comes from speeches and interviews during the run-up to the general elections in September 2002. This emphasizes the importance of context when choosing metaphors. The research illustrates how language mediates reality from different viewpoints because of opposed ideological positions.

Koller and Semino (2009) concluded that the differences in language and metaphor use between male and female politicians can be due to a range of factors such as party membership, worldview, context and impression management as well as personality and professional background. As an example, they cite the use of war metaphors which they claim Merkel and Schroeder use more as the country moves towards elections. In conclusion, the researchers argue that the performance of gender identities should not be ignored when considering the variation of metaphor use in individuals and as such can only be explained by taking into account a range of factors of which performance of masculinity is one. The implication here is that, when analysing the use of metaphor in music, therefore, many variables need to be considered in order to come up with an exhaustive analysis.

While this research acknowledges that gender is a valuable aspect to consider in the performance of gender identities among other variables, Koller and Semino (2009) do not look at cultural values the metaphors transmit or how different values and beliefs impact the political foes in this instance. While Charteris-Black (2004) and (2007) studies demonstrate that metaphor can be manipulated to create certain realities, the study also falls within a Western

context and focuses on the political genre. This study explores metaphor use in a different context and using a data set from a different genre.

The extent to which metaphor intersects with culture has also been an area of interest for linguists. Kovesces (2010) reviewed various metaphor studies to establish the nexus between metaphor and culture. Kovesces focused on conceptual metaphors to find out if there are universal metaphors that are culture-dependent and if they were to account for the metaphors that are culture-dependent and the major cultural domains along which metaphors vary. Kovesces found out that some conceptual metaphors exhibit near universality though they vary at a specific level making them have unique cultural content. He cites the example of the conceptual metaphor THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURED CONTAINER. According to Kovesces, for the same PRESSURISED CONTAINER metaphor, the Chinese have a different version, in which anger is a gas to them. In the Zulu language, Kovesces notes that anger is located in the heart yet the English language associates the heart with love/affection metaphor. Kovesces made the conclusion that metaphors may exhibit similarity at the generic level but differ at specific cultural content. The other observation made by Kovesces is that some metaphors exist in some languages but do not in others. Kovesces notes that languages and cultures also conceptualise target domains differently. He makes the observation that in most languages life is conceptualised as a STRUGGLE/WAR, PRECIOUS POSSESSION, GAME, JOURNEY AND IN Hmong (a Thailand language) it is conceptualised as A STRING (Ruddle cited in Kovesces 2010). The other area that Kovesces notes as showing differences in the use of metaphors is along social dimensions. According to Kovesces whereas a man may describe a woman metaphorically as food, cookie or dish, women generally conceptualise men as a bear, stud, etc. This emphasises that there could be variations in conceptualising phenomenon that can be imposed by such variables as sex, culture or class. Kovesces also

points out that the use of metaphor in slang also shows variations. Following Kovesces' findings, it is critical that discourse analysts doing metaphor analysis understand how the same idea may be conceptualised differently in another language. Kovesces' study is, therefore, relevant to this study as it illustrates that gender may also impose different value systems in the use of metaphors.

Johnson (2007:28-54) researched on various metaphors exploited by the United States media to legitimize the English-only movement of America, and to justify a proposition called Proposition 203: English for the Children. Negative metaphors were used to describe “bilingual education” as “bad”, “failed”, “pathology”, “bad investment”, “segregation”, “trap”, “barrier”, among others, while “English only”, schools were described as “good”, “successful” fostering “unity”, “gift”, “fulfilling the American dream”, among others. The study demonstrates how metaphor in the media could be used to do pragmatic and ideological work. The music medium, therefore, provides a different context in which language could be used for rhetorical purposes.

Through a study of metaphors in economic discourse, Silaski (2006) explored how media is used to construct ideological positions. The purpose of the research was to establish the link between metaphor use and ideological construction of a particular social reality. Using data from English Economics and business dictionaries, some business and finance-oriented dailies and weeklies, websites and personal blogs published in English and company restructuring papers, Silaski explored how metaphors used in economic discourse had gender undertones. Guided by the CMT and CMA theoretical frameworks in his analysis of the slender metaphor in economic discourse, Silaski concluded that metaphors in economic discourse are imbued with gendered and gendering metaphors. The slender metaphor for companies wishing to downsize dominated the discourse. His findings are that the discourse is replete with

conceptual metaphors related to health. For instance, COMPANY IS A PATIENT, LEAN IS HEALTHY and FAT IS UNHEALTHY METAPHOR. Silaski (2006) notes that such conceptual metaphors generate the following linguistic metaphors: “fat/obese”, “forced to go for a corporate diet”, “get rid of/trim away body fat”, “slim down”, “corporate anorexia”, “lean staff” to describe management and administration. According to Silaski, a Western cultural value of the link between slenderness on beauty is exploited through what are considered to be positive value traits of beauty such as “slimming down” and “becoming fit” (Silaski, 2006:5).

Silaski’s (2006) conclusion is that metaphors have a way of neatly hiding ideologies by highlighting, to describe management and administration certain attitudes, views and opinions while down-playing some other irrelevant and undesirable aspects of a phenomenon. Silaski (2006: 215) argues, “Metaphors in a way reflect societal values that underpin the contemporary society.” The downsizing terminology replete in the economic discourse carries subtle ideological positions. Silaski further argues that the cognitive framework of slenderness on which the downsizing metaphor rests and is used to conceptualise the declining number of employees in a company reflects the importance attached to the female body in contemporary Western society. Silaski’s view is that such gendered metaphors reinforce stereotypical gender views and a biased mindset with regard to the evaluation of women’s contribution in society. He also observes that the conceptual metaphor SLENDERNESS IS BEAUTY is used to convey that downsizing or cutting down on the number of employees in an organisation is desirable. In his view, such representation of reality has ideological implications as it reinforces views of women, which make metaphor a potent linguistic tool that carries ideologies of power and value judgments that may not be obvious to readers. For instance, slender women indicate good health and beauty.

While Silaski's (2006) study does not focus on metaphor use in song, it is relevant to the study as it provides insights into how metaphors and in this case gendered metaphors are used in ways that reflect particular values and ideology in a particular context. The study also provides a platform for understanding how the metaphors are mapped consciously or unconsciously to influence a particular reality. However, Silaski's (2006) study focuses on data derived from a Western context hence projecting Western concepts of gender. As noted by Kovesces (2010), slenderness may be reflective of cultural perceptions of what is desirable beauty in such a context. Silaski does not highlight that metaphor mapping can also be used to delegitimize, subvert, or reject gender concepts. This study fills that gap by exploring how metaphor can be used to challenge and expose stereotypical gender concepts, perceptions and values.

The persuasive or manipulative role of metaphor combined with ideological work is exposed in Koller's (2004) study. Koller investigated metaphor and gender in media discourse using a critical cognitive approach. She argues that the choice of metaphor reveals stakes in elevating or downgrading a person or group to manipulate recipients. Koller observes that the dominant usage of the conceptual metaphor, BUSINESS IS WAGING WAR that journalists use, helps to shape mental models of business. According to Koller, such a concept influences perceptions as it helps to cement accepted models. In addition to that, Koller argues that the WAR in business is heavily masculinised as it projects doing business as a male activity. The WAR metaphor, therefore, according to Koller, works to exclude the out-group. It can be argued that sometimes if not most of the time, musicians consciously select metaphors when they sing about females and males. The mapping that results then is deliberate, suggesting that musicians are motivated by a particular view they want listeners to have to make the metaphor manipulative. Koller's study, however, does not reveal the cultural values that also contribute to the mapping of a metaphor.

Principally focusing on the social and ideological role of metaphors, Trckova (2012) analysed metaphor uses in newspaper articles reporting on Hurricane Katrina and Tsunami in 2004 and 2005. Drawing from cognitive and Critical Discourse frameworks Trckova establishes that metaphor is used socially to represent the hurricane and the tsunami as ANIMATE beings, MONSTER and WAR. The two natural phenomena are represented as animate beings on a warpath to destroy using metaphorical and hyperbolic adjectives that describe the Hurricane and the Tsunami as *colossal* or *gargantuan* (Trckova, 2012). Trckova noted that the metaphors described the trail left by the Hurricane as resembling a “nuked environment” or “bombed-out” landscape reflecting a conceptual metaphor of the aftermath of a war. His view is that metaphors in the media simplify reality by using what is within the experience of the readers to explain the target domain. Hence, according to him the reference to monsters and war themes brings the phenomena of a Hurricane and Tsunami experience that they have read about in novels or watched in films. Trckova (2011) argues by foregrounding through mapping the destructive nature of the Hurricane and the Tsunami the reporters hid and shifted the blameworthiness of the Science and humans thus serving an ideological function of persuading readers to view the Hurricane and tsunami as purely natural disasters. According to Trckova, this conceals the fact that human activities may be contributory to their destructive effect. In Trckova’s view, making the Hurricane and Tsunami appear unnatural phenomena is conveniently done to shift the blame from the Federal and local governments since most of the people affected were the poorly resourced who could not afford to flee or live elsewhere. Trckova’s study is enlightening as it illustrates that metaphors in discourse do not just serve a social function but also an ideological function.

While the data set and context of Trckova's (2012) study is different from the targeted context in this study, her study highlights an important function of metaphor, which is foregrounding particular viewpoints about an issue for persuasive purposes. This is critical in understanding discursive metaphorical strategies employed by the musicians to persuade audiences to accept certain realities and points of view on various gender issues. The study is therefore relevant to a study that also seeks to unravel the discursive role of metaphors in song lyrics to construct and socialise audiences to accept the realities raised through them.

Urbonait and Seskauskien (2007) also explored the use of the health metaphor in political discourse by English and Lithuanian journalists. Both languages exhibited usage of health metaphors in political and economic discourse. However, the researchers observed that the frequency of occurrence differs across the languages making them conclude that the realisation of metaphors is largely culture-specific. This further confirms Kovesces' (2004) observation that metaphors have different meanings depending on the context in which they are used.

In another case study, Koller (2004b) investigated journalists' metaphor use to talk about business women. The study explored how metaphors are used to position people in gender roles, reinforce or challenge stereotypes and negotiate power relations between groups. Koller's (2004b) findings were that war metaphors were used more to describe women than men, and that *care and attention complex* is employed to describe business women generating such specific metaphors as "cheerleader", "flowers" and "diamonds" for women and "cowboys", "firefighters" and "religious" leaders for men. Koller asserts that the WAR metaphor is plausibly used to co-opt women into the ideal of corporate masculinity that has traditionally positioned globalized (male) managers as representatives of hegemonic masculinity and soldiers. Koller's study looks at how war metaphors are gendered and

gendering. However, the data are also based on a Western context and does not explain how culturally gendered values are also transmitted through the metaphors.

In a study of gendered discourse in the Danish financial sector, Holmgreen (2003) established that both female and male executives use gendered language to discursively construct career possibilities and constraints. She concluded that metaphorical constructions are a way that power is exercised through language and women are thus disadvantaged and have little room to compete on equal footing with male counterparts. She argues that the net effect of such constructions in discourse assigns roles and characteristics that are likely to remain unquestioned and accepted as the natural state of affairs. This, according to her, emphasises and sustains the traditional organisational structure, that is, men in managerial positions and women in subordinate positions. Holmgreen further claims that constructing men and women in a predefined dichotomy of male versus female sustains gender conceptions that favour men. While Holmgreen's study is not located in the area of music discourse, it is still relevant as it reveals how dominant groups discursively use discourse for hegemonic purposes. The study, however, does not question or reveal the ideology or ideologies motivating the choice and use of the gendered metaphors. The study also does not reveal the dominant group(s) whose discourse shapes the societal views of gender in Danish society. In carrying out the analysis of gendered metaphors, this study explores the ideologies underpinning the choice of particular metaphors that talk about men and women in the selected Shona songs.

Koller (2008) studied how metaphors are manipulated to construct social domains. Using data from British, US and Australian advertisements (from 1996 to 2001) and principally focusing on verbal metaphoric expressions. RELATIONSHIP and WAR conceptual metaphors were the focus of the research. Koller found out that the WAR metaphor was absent in the data. Her



explanation for the absence is what she refers to as “shift in marketing strategies from Transactional (product-focused) to a Relationship focused “and hence the avoidance of the connotations inherent in the WAR metaphor. The new era according to her, sees the emphasis of MARKETER-CUSTOMER RELATIONSHIP ARE PRIVATE RELATIONSHIPS. Koller argues that the ROMANCE metaphor presents customers either as customers to be courted by the marketer or men choosing metaphorically female brands. She concludes that RELATIONSHIP positions that the advertisements project positions people in gendered roles thus constructing marketing as a social domain that is gendered. In this way, she argues that potentially subversive metaphors are employed to reproduce stereotypes.

Koller's (2008) study of how metaphors in advertisements are manipulated to construct social domains is enlightening. While exposing new marketing values underpinning such a shift Koller does not interrogate the ideology undergirding such language use. This study, however, offers fresh insights into the interaction of context, culture and ideology to maintain or challenge unequal power relations in a western context although it does not specifically focus on music genre.

A few studies have analysed rhetorical use of metaphors in songs (Worth, 1995; Gerrits and Trimble, 2017). Worth (1995) analysed rhetorical use of metaphors in the late Bob Marley songs. He concluded that Bob Marley used orientation metaphors to construct what is good and bad for Rastafarians. According to Worth, Bob Marley used metaphors to describe positively valued matters in Rastafarian religion or things in terms of light and in upward orientation and negatives in terms of darkness and downward in orientation. In his songs, therefore, Bob Marley used songs to reject the idea that slavery was good for the blacks who were forcibly taken from Africa. Worth's study focused on the persuasive element of the linguistic

metaphors and did not explore the conceptual metaphors underlying the linguistic metaphors. This study fills that gap by not only analysing Shona songs in order to reveal the conceptual metaphors that motivate the linguistic metaphors but also cultural values inherent and gender notions. While Worth's study did not focus on gendered metaphors it is relevant to this study as it investigated how metaphors in a song can be used to rhetorically influence perceptions.

The rhetorical and gendering nature of metaphors is also captured in Gerrits and Trimble's (2017) study that analysed the use of gendered metaphors in news coverage of the Conservative Party of Canada leadership. The study investigated how the *Globe and Mail* papers used aggressive metaphors to describe the leadership of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada in 1973, 1976 and 2004. Gerrits and Trimble (2017:11) argue, "Understandings about gender are fluid, context-specific and open to contestation by political actors as well as by their media representations." Their view challenges the notion of stability of gendered metaphors in aggressive metaphors. They concluded that power communicated by aggressive metaphors or metaphorical language of politics situates women and men candidates differently in relation to power, albeit in different ways than that suggested by gendered mediation literature. In their study, for instance, female candidates were projected as victims of power exercised by opponents but often projected as aggressors, 'on the attack' rather than recipients of blows. The newspapers described the candidates as enacting power traditionally associated with men and masculinity. Aggressive metaphors were used in ways that questioned and even delegitimised Campbell and Stroach's performance of power. The study, therefore, unravels that while masculinity dominates in such discourse, there is no monopoly to the exercise of power as those with less power can use the metaphor to subvert and challenge the powerful. Gerrits and Trimble's study does not explore the pragmatic role of metaphor as suggested by the CMA that this study adopts.

According to Lantolf and Bobrova (2012), gendered metaphors convey cultural conceptualisations through the incorporation of the behaviours of men and women. This makes metaphor mapping a product of the physical and cultural environment. Lantolf and Bobrova examined American and Ukrainian beer commercials and established that the use of metaphors in the commercials reveal cross-cultural variations in their mappings and entailments. The researchers argue that the metaphors in the commercials manifest differences in conceptual understanding of happiness, beer drinking, friendship and patriotism in both cultures. The metaphors according to them, redirect community-shared values. While Lantolf and Bobrova's context of metaphor use and data set is different from the focus of this study, it provides a platform for understanding the influence of environment on metaphor mapping and persuasiveness.

Hines (1996) examined the metaphorical representation of women in American and British slang. Using data from British and American slang dictionaries, she concluded that an established discriminatory practice view women as less human than men. She observed that women tended to be represented in different ways: (a) as commodities and sexual objects there to gratify men's sexual appetites, (b) denigrated and represented as animals to be pursued, possessed and or eaten, as unreal, fabulous seductive or destructive creatures than men. Consequently, she argues that these repeated metaphorical representations have the effect of normalising the belief that women are inferior to men. Although Hines (1996) research is based on use of metaphors in a western context, it is relevant to this study as it illuminates on how gendered metaphorical discourse is used to influence people's views on gender roles.

Baider and Gusuato (2003) investigated the cross-linguistic validity of Hines' (1996) findings on English animal-based metaphors depicting women as objects of sexual desire. Using data gathered from French and Italian printed and online sources the researchers established that women are metaphorically represented in sexist ways that compare them to animals in categories such as livestock, game, pets, insects and wild animals. They noted that the comparison is also applied to opponents and other groups perceived as marginal. In the context metaphors, assume various purposes that include talking about people, referring to them, expressing endearment, sexual desirability or denigration, and to insult. The researchers concluded that the metaphorical representation of women, opponents and groups perceived to be peripheral is vested and ideological. They suggest that to account for social and cultural meaning, metaphors need to be considered in their context of use. While the study investigated the cross-linguistic applicability of animal metaphors in English, French and Italian, it is still relevant to this study as it illustrates how metaphors mapping and meanings are related to experience and context. This study takes a paradigm shift by focusing on an African context and music domain to unravel the strategic use of metaphor.

It can be argued that literature in such areas as politics and the media studies have demonstrated metaphor to be an effective linguistic tool that does pragmatic and ideological work in very subtle ways that may escape the ordinary language user (Hines, 1994; Cameroon and Degnan, 2000; Charteris-Black, 2006b; Koller and Semino, 2009). Because of the way it is mapped, foregrounding and backgrounding aspects of the source domain, a metaphor becomes a very effective tool for persuasion. The next section focuses on the review of the literature of studies that have focused on metaphor in music.

Lewis (1988) analysed the ideology that informs the Hawaiian music of the 1970s and 1980s in the context of tourism. Lewis's argument is that since music constitutes symbolic communication it has far-reaching influence in the lives of people as it links the values and ideologies of groups and cultures to social action. To underscore this observation Lewis cites Geertz (1973:216) who says symbolic systems such as music, "...are intrinsic sources of information in terms of which human life can be patterned- extra mechanisms for the perception, understanding, judgment, and manipulation of the racial world". What this implies is that music is an important site through which views are transmitted, argued, reinforced, or rejected for the benefit of the powerful and less powerful.

Lewis (1988) concluded that music lyrics of the Hawaiian people (of the 1970s and 1980s) were used to construct and reinforce social reality. Lewis argues that, the lyrics protested and challenged the dominant ideology, which trivialised the Hawaiian people, destruction of their land and their past, as well as the negatively perceived cultural and ecological impacts of mass tourism (Lewis, 1988:1). Lewis' other observation is that the ideology in music captures both residual, emerging oppositional and alternative ideologies. Although the study provides insights, into how music lyrics are sources of information, the lyrics also construct and reinforce particular ideologies in society. While also focusing on extracting the ideology in Shona popular music lyrics on gender relationships, this study extends scholarship by investigating gender cultural values transmitted by the music to construct a reality perhaps peculiar to the Shona people. Lewis' study, however, does not focus on metaphor use in music.

Sasaki-Picou (2014) analysed the construction of black American males' masculinity in Hip-hop. She analyses the lyrics of Frank Ocean who was gay but still maintained normalised gender views. In her conclusion, she observes that black masculinity in Hip-hop remains the

socially acceptable norm. Sasaki- Picou (2014: 4) points out that, this, in a way confirms Butler's assertion that gender is not "scripted on the body" but is something that is acquired in society. Butler (1988) cited in Sasaki-Picou (2014) claims that gender is culturally constructed and normalised by the circumstances of the cultural environment. In her view, Sasaki-Picou argues that blacks' performance of hegemonic masculinity demonstrates the worthiness and legitimacy of an artist. Thus, Frank Ocean according to her, despite his alleged gay identity still exhibited what has been normalised to reflect a black Hip Hop artist's behaviour. Her conclusion is that black Hip hops artists; respond to societal ideals so that their music is acceptable thus making them successful Hip Hop artists. However, Sasaki- Picou study only limits itself to how gendered metaphors are used in music to perform hegemonic views of gender. Her research was, however, limited to a general analysis of language in which metaphors were part of the analysis. Her findings are relevant to this study though as they illuminate that a musician's gender constructions are sometimes constrained by dominant views in the larger society. This affirms the view that gender resides in the individual and performance reflects environmental views (Butler, 1990).

Pemberton (2008) investigated the representation of Black women's sexuality and gender relations in Rap music lyrics. Her focus was to explore how Rap music lyrics reproduce or challenge gendered racialised and sexual stereotypes of African American women. Pemberton concluded that rap music constructs women in a negative way. Women are depicted as 'wives', 'mothers' and 'girlfriends'. This, according to Pemberton, cut across both female and male artists. It is her observation that language is used to represent along with socio-historical gender, race class, and sexual ideologies. Her conclusion is that black women Rappers tended to construct women in a positive way while challenging masculinity, encouraging them to be strong and sexually autonomous. However, she argues the song language demonstrates that

hegemonic femininity supports the hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity and reproduces men's dominance and women's subordination. Pemberton's study gives insight into how language constructs gendered roles in a Western context. Similar to Gerrits and Trimble's (2013) study, Pemberton's study does not focus on a single linguistic tool such as a metaphor but rather makes a general lexical analysis from a literary perspective. This study, however, gives a deeper view by concentrating on cognitive and pragmatic processes involved in the gendering process.

Richards (2012) investigated how female Country artists' lyrics construct gender. Using CDA as a theoretical framework Richards analysed the lyrics of two Country musicians. Richards's data are based on both the visual and lyrical texts. The gender notions that the women capture while exhibiting commonalities found elsewhere are largely comprised of gender perceptions that are Western. Richards noted that the musicians represented women in ways that countered dominant archetype and give the audience an alternative perspective of what it means to be feminine or female. His conclusion, however, is that, while the women's lyrics challenge masculine gender ideology they at the same time reinforce it. Richards's observation supports the view that such victims can also use language in ways that perpetuate their circumstances (Lazer, 2007; Koller, 2004; Ellece, 2011).

Johansson (2016) analysed conceptual metaphors in Leonard Cohen's lyrics. Using Lakoff and Johnson (1984) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), Johansson established that Leonard Cohen used conceptual metaphors such as; LIFE IS A PLAY, LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, FRIENDSHIP/INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS, LOVE IS A VOYAGE, and LIFE IS PRECIOUS to project life experiences. In turn, these conceptual metaphors

generate linguistic metaphors such as “the ponies run”, “the odds are there to beat”, “You lose your grip and then you slip”, “confined to sex we pressed”, and “Here is your crown”.

Johansson concluded that Leonard Cohen used different metaphors in his lyrics. According to Johansson, Cohen’s lyrics reflect the use of many source domains to describe target domains and that context plays a crucial role in the mapping of the metaphors. His observation was that Cohen seemed to derive many of the mappings from the Bible and Shakespeare’s Antony and Cleopatra. While Johansson’s data source is musical, she does not investigate a specific lexical item as this study does. However, her study is enlightening as it demonstrates how conceptual metaphors are derived and utilised in music lyrics.

Research of gendered discourse has also shown that descriptions of women serve as hegemonic as it trivialises women roles in society. Exploring the gendered discourse in a western context, Hines (1994) established that metaphors conceptualise women as things that are admired for their outward appearance, sold, bought, eaten or sold. According to her, the underlying conceptual metaphor WOMEN IS DESSERT METAPHOR yields linguistic metaphors that refer to women and their genitalia and the metaphors include women being described as pudding, jelly bag, honey pot, melons, and strawberries. One notable characteristic of the descriptive linguistic metaphors is that they reflect the influence of the cultural setting on their mapping. Hines argues that the common thread among these metaphors is that they are all associated with peripheral food, which trivialises women’s role within love relationships and the society. Her conclusion is that such discourse is hegemonic and can only serve to perpetuate an asymmetrical relation with men. Hine’s study demonstrates that consent to the status quo is not always achieved by coercion but hegemonic discourses that present asymmetric power relations as natural. Her study is supported by



Akuno, Oloo and Magonya's (2018) study of two Dholuo and Benga artists lyrical discourse which they note also describes women as sweets, milk, sugar, groundnuts and tasty traditional vegetables. Hines study is enlightening for the study as it how ways metaphors as linguistic tools can subtly encourage certain views or ways of evaluating gender relations.

The review of the existing literature on discourse, gender and metaphor studies in Western contexts has revealed that a metaphor has a cognitive and rhetorical function in different domains and contexts (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Charteris-Black, 2004; Musolff, 2007; Johnson, 2007; Lantol and Bobrova, 2012; Sasaki-Picou, 2014). The few studies that have focused on metaphor and gender demonstrate that metaphors are persuasively utilised in subtle ways to legitimise gender social inequalities (Lantolf and Bobrova, 2012; Lewis. 1988 and Sasaki-Picou, 2014). Much of the research on gender construction in music discourse has not specifically focused on the pragmatic and rhetorical function of metaphor to create social realities. The few existing metaphor and gender have tended to be concentrated in business (Koller, 2004) and political domains (Lantolf and Bobrova (2012). The next section reviews the literature on metaphor and gender studies in Asian contexts.

### **2.3 Discourse, gender and metaphor studies in Asian contexts**

This section examines literature related to the study of metaphors in Asian contexts. The purpose of the review is to understand what gender discourse studies have yielded. Gaps in literature are highlighted by noting the methodology and data sets utilised in the studies. Similarities with other contexts are also noted and highlighted.

Lazar (1993) studied government-sponsored advertisements that encouraged Singaporean men to marry educated Singaporean women. Using data from the flighted advertisements Lazar

established that while the discourse in the advertisements was meant to encourage men to consider marrying educated and working Singaporean women inadvertently the discourse entrenched the traditional views held by men that the educated Singaporean women are unsuitable for marriage because they are supposedly “independent” financially and otherwise. While the study does not examine metaphors used to construct the educated and salaried Singaporean women, metaphors used to deprecate and malign the women by describing them as “girls” while the discourse does not refer to the men as “boys”. The women are also described as “career and financially independent” insinuating that education and salaries give women independence that works to entrench the status quo, where Singaporean men avoid them for marriage. Lazar (1993) argues that the discourse shifts the blame from men who avoid educated and employed women and instead blames the women for failing to adjust to men’s expectations if they want to be married, thus further entrenching inequality.

Lazar (1993)’s conclusion is that discourse in the advertisements maintains Singaporean unequal gender relations. Lazar’s research demonstrates that while discourse can be used to do social work there is still potential for the discourse to do the opposite, in this case, perpetuates rather than correct perceptions. As noted earlier on The Singaporean government-sponsored advertisements encouraging Singaporean men to marry educated women professionals, hence promote equality achieves the opposite by further entrenching asymmetrical power relations. The research is illuminating for the study as it highlights another angle discourse that may have unintended meanings. The study provides insights into discourse use in authentic situations and is illustrative of how institutional power can be innocently maintained between men and women in societies.

In a study of metaphorical terms used to describe women in selected Malaysian Hip Hop lyrics, Balraj (2012) concluded that women are stereotyped into certain characteristics and ideals. In the study, Balraj established that some metaphors are used to describe women and their behaviour. The musicians used metaphorical words and phrases such as “baby”, “hotties”, “witches”, “venoms in vials”, just to mention a few. Her conclusion is that such gendered constructions perpetuate gender notions that project women as objects. She argues that such constructions persuade women to behave in certain ways that men feel are the right ways. Thus, gendered discourse, according to him, does not only construct gender notions but also reinforces dominant discourses and present such gender notions as natural and normal. Balraj study, however, captures that dominant discourses do not have a free reign as they operate in an environment where other discourses can be used to subvert them. The study is, however, relevant as it investigates metaphors in a real context of use.

Jerome (2013) analyses audience perceptions of gender messages in contemporary Malay songs. Using Fairclough’s CDA as his theoretical framework Jerome finds out that the musicians use physical and anatomical, natural and abstract objects to map metaphors that speak about gender roles and perceptions in the Malay community. Physical and anatomical objects such as the heart, eyes and lips are used as metaphors for feelings and emotions in a relationship. While night and wave metaphors map loneliness and sadness. Gendered roles are captured as occurring in romantic relationships. Men are represented as leaving relationships and women as suffering emotional breakdowns that leave them ruining the breakup. For instance, the conceptual metaphor A HEART IS WHERE LOVE DWELLS generate linguistic metaphors “in the heart, tormented heart” to point to how women suffer when they are left by men. Men are also represented as opportunists with a penchant to break promises. However, a

few of the songs portray women as adopting roles normally reserved for men in that they can also leave or abandon relationships.

Jerome's (2013) study established that messages in Malay songs revolve around socially constructed gender roles expected in romantic relationships. According to him, the songs used stereotypical messages such as leaving one's lover or concealing emotions to reinforce men and women's roles in romantic relationships. The language represented women as more affected by breakups than men. Such conceptualisations of men and women in love relationships project men the cog that sustain relationships and as less affected by breakups. In Jerome's view, gendered language therefore reinforces asymmetrical power relations in society.

While the study does not specifically focus on the metaphorical construction of gender, it gives insights on how language is used to construct, reinforce or reject certain views about gender. Unlike Silaski's (2006) study Jerome's study offers a context that is not Western but a Muslim culture context. In this context, Jerome notes that perceptions reflect roles expected in the Muslim culture indicating the variability of cultural perceptions of gender hence justifying studies of gendered metaphors in other cultures. Such studies may unravel perceptions of gender that speak to the lived experiences of a culture such as the Shona culture. This study takes a more focused approach by limiting itself to the construction of gender notions using metaphors.

In her study of gender stereotypes and popular music, Chew (2014) analysed the lexical composition of songs rather than focusing her analysis on a particular aspect of meaning making in the songs. Her analysis, however, takes note of how metaphors covertly present

masculinity and femininity. She established that musicians use song lyrics to stereotype men and women. According to her study, on one hand, women are generally sexualised or seen only as objects; on the other hand, they are represented as submissive, vulnerable and dependent on men, thus suggesting that they do everything to sustain a relationship. She, however, notes that some songs suggest that men can also be vulnerable like women, which rejects the view that women are the only ones who are vulnerable in a love relationship. Chew's study, however, presents a generalised analysis that does not explain how specific linguistic resources are utilised to persuade listeners to end up with those meanings.

Lee, Shen and Kao (2003) investigated cultural differences in the conceptualisation of gender in English and Mandarin languages by analysing American and Taiwanese popular songs. The focus of the research was to find out how gender and sexuality metaphors in the song lyrics affect or have an effect on behaviour and characterisation of females and males in the respective cultures. Guided by Lakoff (1980) and Johnson and Fairclough's (2004) frameworks they examined 26 American English song lyrics and Taiwanese Mandarin song lyrics. The researchers identified 243 metaphors related to gender and sexuality. They noted that both cultures drew metaphor on gender and sexuality from common domains concerned with war, sport and objects. The researchers established that there are cultural meanings of the domains. To support this, they cite the example of the inclusion of battle, war, sports and game under the same category in Mandarin metaphors (with the exclusion of violence) and the inclusion of the combination of war and violence in the American lyrics. They argue that such occurrences indicate that metaphor meaning is culturally defined in context. Their conclusion is that metaphor in song lyrics transmit cultural notions of gender peculiar to people who speak the language.

In both English and Mandarin song lyrics, the researchers found out that phallocratic society in the female-male relationship is present (Lee, Shen and Kao, 2003). Lee, Shen and Kao noted that regardless of whether the male was the agent or object the lyrics tended to express the thoughts of the male and the female tends to be passively accepting it. They refer to metaphors that degraded women to objects/animals and men speaking for women, suggesting a submissive role. For instance, the researchers cite metaphor conceptions in American English lyrics that projected the connection between men and women in relation to objects, **WOMEN ARE PROPERTY OR POSSESSIONS OR COMMODITIES** and Taiwanese metaphor emphasising that a relationship needs two people although still, men control the ownership, with the woman being owned or appreciated. Lee, Shen and Kao also note that American musicians use explicit metaphors drawn from human sexual anatomy, while the Mandarin lyrics preferred nature, olfactory and taste metaphors. According to them, when Olfactory and taste metaphors are used in the American culture they describe yearning or desire, “Your fragrance keeps lingering around” and perceptions of the opposite sex and their behaviour, “sweet words and honeyed phrases” (Lee, Shen and Kao, 2003:329). Such evidence they argue, is illustrative of the hegemonic masculinity played out in music and cultural differences on the concept of gender. This is illuminating for the current study that investigates the ideological and pragmatic aspects of the metaphor in Shona song lyrics

Setyono and Wahyuni (2013) used Fairclough's (1992) CDA framework to uncover the ideology in the Javanese song “Ilir-Ilir”. Setyono and Wahyuni found out that the lyrics consisted of metaphorical expressions that enhance the hegemony of the powerful. According to them, the metaphors in the lyrics implicitly constructed power relations and ideology imbued with Islamic philosophical thought. They argue that this particular children's song inculcates gender values and ideology consistent with the Islamic religion. Song lyrics, in this case,

according to them, serve as a powerful tool through which metaphor persuasively transmit, gender values and notions that are perceived to be acceptable in a society. The study, however, does not acknowledge that, musicians can also use metaphor to challenge hegemonic dominance. This study goes further to explore how a metaphor is used to not only transmit desire gender values but also how it is used to challenge asymmetrical power relations between men and women.

Asian studies of metaphor reviewed examined the construction of gender through metaphors from different domains; Lazar (1993) *advertisement*, Jerome (2013) *music discourse*, Chew (2014) *gendered lexical terms in music discourse*, Lee, Shen and Kao (2003) *music discourse*; Setyono and Wahyuni (2013) *gender construction in the context of the Muslim religion*. Many of these studies took a generalised study of how discourse is utilised to construct gender in different domains. The studies, however, introduce religion as a variable that affects gender conceptualisation in a society. The literature review also reveals that generally, the rhetorical function of metaphor in music to project social realities on gender in the Asian context remains scanty explored. The next section reviews the literature of studies of discourse metaphor and gender in African contexts.

## **2.4 Discourse, gender and metaphor studies in African contexts**

There are a number of African studies that have focused on metaphor and gender in the media even though many of the studies focus on the print media, (Ezeifeka, 2013; O'Halloran, 2007; Atanga, Ellece, Litosseli and Sunderland, 2012) few studies focus on rhetorical use of metaphor to talk about gender (Ellece, 2011; Nhlekisana, 2013; Wambura, 2016; Ndlangamandla, 2010).

Metaphors that project ideological views have also been studied (O'Halloran, 2007).

O'Halloran (2007:163) avers that;

The use of the image of 'volcano' and its metaphorical entailments- 'simmering', erupted', and 'swept through' to describe the civil unrest in Soweto as an example of media representation of favoured ideological perspectives. The snipe view was obviously directed against the black rioters who caused the 'eruptions'. The agency responsible for 'the shooting of 174 Africans' was carefully hidden, while the police agent who headed' the marchers off, the word 'headed' saying very little about the police.

According to O'Halloran, the entailments of these metaphorical expressions may be lost on the casual or uncritical reader who may think that the report is neutral and transparent. He argues that such metaphors are strategically used to convey or represent a particular reality favoured by the media. While it is interesting to note how metaphors can be selectively mapped to achieve particular ideological purposes in the print media, the music medium also need attention since music wields enormous influence on community or society views on issues such as gender as it expresses different societal beliefs, values, norms and expectations (Finegan, 1970: 272).

Atanga et al. (2013) examined issues associated with language and gender in Southern Africa. Their observation is that there is little scholarship regarding language and gender in contexts that are non-Western. They argue that sub-Saharan Africa like other non-Western contexts presents gender issues that are peculiar and characteristic to these contexts. According to them, sub-Saharan contexts present gender issues in areas such as the representation of men and women in 'orature' sites including songs, myths, folklore and proverbs, construction of masculinity and femininity in traditional ceremonies, construction of masculinity and femininity in HIV and AIDS- prevention, public awareness posters and brochures. Other areas



they feel could generate interesting data include representation of women in news reports, names, titles and encroachment of gender concepts from other contexts such as the Beijing conference. Atanga et al (2013) research is illuminating as it provides an understanding of why language and gender issues in Southern Africa still require much attention and research to explicate the region from its numerous developmental problems.

Using a sociolinguistic framework, Rapoo (2002) studied the discourse of naming in Setswana, which in essence is metaphorical. Rapoo's findings are that names given to males and females in Setswana are not value-free. The names, according to her reflect agency in the case of male names and lack of agency (objectification) in female names. Her observation is that the names endow males with certain characteristics while female names represent them as meant to do things and have things done for them. One example she quotes is the name Modise, which is the masculine meaning "one who herds cattle" and "Methusi" which is feminine and means "one who helps". While Rapoo acknowledges that his study focuses on decontextualised lexical items and not how these names are actually used, the study is enlightening and relevant to this study as it provides an understanding of how metaphorically names can be used in discourse to not only convey gender values, but also to, convey a society's views and expectations regarding gender roles. The study reveals how discourse is also value-laden even for such practices as naming. This is critical to this study as it is also explores how musicians use metaphors to influence people to adopt particular gender views subsequent to the raging debates.

Ezeifeka (2013) investigated the strategic use of metaphor in the print media. Her study focused on the metaphor use by journalists in the private media to report on a teacher's strike in Nigeria and gain consensus with the readers. According to Ezeifeka, metaphor in the reports served as masks the private papers used in their news reports. She notes that the journalists in the private

media used the WAR conceptual metaphor to frame the strike as a war that ‘paralysed’ and ‘cripples’ causing ‘agony’ to the victims (Ezeifeke, 2013:188). According to her, the metaphors represented teachers as unfeeling and resorting to means unbecoming of teachers, especially when they were described as ‘hooligans’ and teaching as a calling, ‘their reward is in heaven’ (Ezeifeke, 2013: 187-188). She concluded that metaphors were used to sway public opinion against the cause of the teachers and hide the contributory role of the Nigerian government to the conflict.

Ezeifeke’s study demonstrates how metaphors can be used to strategically construct a desired reality that favours a particular group. While exposing the power relations playing out in the strike and the strategic use of metaphor, the study falls in a different domain different to the one targeted by this study. The study, however, illuminates how metaphor can be used for rhetorical purposes in very opaque ways.

Using Lazar’s (2007) notion of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA), Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) Critical Metaphor Analysis and the pragmatic theory of presupposition Ahmed (2018) examines how female authors of opinion articles in Nigerian Newspapers frame feminine identity and relations with men. With the aid of the Pragglejaz 2007 and Steen 2007 metaphor identification methods, Ahmed identifies and analyses 339 metaphors from 100 opinion articles gathered from Nigerian newspapers.

Ahmed establishes that female opinion writers in Nigerian newspapers used conceptual metaphors such as, WOMEN ARE COMMODITIES, WOMEN ARE THE WEAKER SEX, WOMEN ARE A FORCE, and WOMEN ARE HOME MANAGERS. These conceptual metaphors yielded linguistic metaphors such as, “wealth men acquire her”, “one of the chattels

to be inherited”, “this trailblazer along with other women”, or Obasanjo describing women as “shining stars of his government”, “weak in all aspects... or that is their nature”, women are fragile”. Ahmed argues that such gendered metaphors serve to entrench rather than challenge asymmetrical power relations between men and women in Nigeria. His conclusion is that female authors are co-conspirators of reinforcing the dominant ideology. While the study does not focus on music discourse it provides an understanding of the power behind discourse and dominant discourse overshadowing discourses that challenge its hegemony.

Ellece (2011) analysed the Tswana discourse of marriage advice given to the bride and the groom on their wedding. Ellece observed that the discourse used socialise men and women to serve different roles in marriage. According to her, the advice discourse targeted at women inculcated gender values that persuaded the brides to be subservient and not to question their spouses’ behaviours, some of which may be detrimental to their welfare and well-being. On the other hand, grooms received advice that streamlined them into masculinity roles which persuaded them to provide and protect their spouse. Ellece argues that while the discourse is meant to encourage a harmonious relationship, the discourse reinforces patriarchal values that perpetuate gender differences for the benefit of patriarchy. Although, Ellece’s study does not focus on a specific linguistic tool, it is instructive in that it exposes the power of discourse to foster values that socialise men and women to occupy different roles in society.

Nhleakisana (2013) analysed the representation of Batswana women in popular music. According to Nhleakisana popular songs construct, as well as reflect the realities of urbanisation in globalisation and social change. Nhleakisana posits that song is a form of cultural transmission and an important medium through which gender identities are constructed, sustained and contested. She further contends that the language of music encodes and in a

mediated way transmits gendered norms and values. She argues that gender merits studying since gender is still very much differentiated in Africa. The use of metaphor, therefore, is a component to the linguistic repertoire that can exist in exposing the norms, values and power relations embedded within gender and sexuality. This necessitates a close analysis of how the metaphor is used in a persuasive way to inculcate these norms and values through popular Shona songs that this study pursues.

Nhleakisana (2013) examined literal and subtle ways in which lexemes and metaphor are used to construct gender roles in Setswana popular songs. The subtle ways, she argues, may escape the ordinary listener but still transmitting mediated values about men and women. She establishes that the way such subjects as infidelity, adultery, promiscuity, cowardice and treachery, materialism and promiscuity are talked about is gendered. She cites songs on infidelity, adultery and promiscuity as providing a framework that protects patriarchy. Her observation is that the lexemes and metaphor reveal how cowardice in men is frowned upon and the projection of women as gold diggers, materialistic, and dependent on men for survival. She avers that the use of such discourse is not accidental but is creatively meant to implicitly suggest that women cannot survive on their own and need men to provide for them.

Nhleakisana's analysis captures differentiated roles that men and women are supposed to occupy in the Setswana culture. Her conclusion is that the songs reinforce Setswana cultural expectations and values regarding men and women roles. She also noted that any deviation or subversion of these roles is criticised and frowned upon which aids to safeguard traditional patriarchy in such transgressions as infidelity and promiscuity. Nhleakisana's study emphasises that while language can be used to protect privileges of the powerful it can also be used to challenge and dismantle them. In her view, language is used to resist gendered values by

actively rejecting traditional feminine ideas of tolerance, conformity and subservience leading to positive outcomes.

While Nhlekisana's (2013) study does not focus on metaphor per se it is still relevant to the current study as it enriches understanding of how metaphors in music are used to construct gender. While this study takes a paradigm shift by focusing on the rhetorical role of metaphors in the construction of gender in a different context, it benefits researcher to understand how discourse is discursively utilised to achieve rhetorical objectives. In addition, the study does not limit itself to exposing how discourse is used to construct gender but goes further to unearth the ideology motivating the choice and use of the metaphors and also related debates in the Shona society.

In a similar study, Thiongo (2015) using Butler (1990) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) frameworks, examined how women are constructed in Kenyan male artists' lyrics. The study sought to establish how male artists construct women using male lens. While the study does not specifically focus on gendered metaphors, Thiongo established that men use iconic, symbolic and indexical metaphors to construct women in the dichotomous perception of men as "them" and women as "others". Thiongo concluded that lyrics perform a gendering process in which women are stereotyped in normative gender roles. In this way, she argues, the songs represented male dialogues that manifested into gender discourses about women. While Thiongo does not interrogate the ideology underlying the construction of women in the lyrics or consider the construction of males in song, this study investigates gender construction of both sexes, its findings could illuminate how metaphors are used as used as ideological weapons in discourse such music.

Wambura (2016) utilised Critical Discourse Analysis framework to analyse the discursive role of metaphors in representation of females in circumcision songs in Kuria Kenya. Her findings were that metaphor in the songs discursively constructed and sought to maintain dominant patriarchal hegemony. Wambura noted that in most of the songs, gender was constructed in a binary and contrastive way. She cited the example of the tree metaphor where women's main role is represented as motherhood. Evident also, according to her, is the objectification of women who in her words "apart from bearing children and caring for them, women are expected to be active in the home environment". Women were also projected as timid and requiring men's protection and provision while men were described as "thunder", "shields, and "mushrooms", to refer to their protection roles and women as objects, "ear-rings", "tree" and "chickens" to refer to their mothering role. In this way, she argues women were given a subordinate role to men. Wambura concluded that metaphors in the songs naturalise female genital mutilation. According to her, understanding Female Genitalia Mutilation song discourse could be utilised to end the practice. She also noted that while such discourse communicates acceptance of the roles the women ascribe to themselves, it fails to challenge the superiority roles that men occupy. The discourse, she argues represented Kuria women's roles as natural and expected in the society. Thus, according to her, discourse in the Kuria songs reinforced hegemonic masculinity by representing women as unequal to men.

While Wambura's (2016) study does not focus on a specific linguistic tool in song, her study is enlightening in that it demonstrates the utility value of discourse analysis and that understanding metaphors, could be utilised to solve a real social problem such as genital mutilation. This is because the knowledge gained from such discourse analysis could be utilised to deconstruct and challenge the practice. Even though the study exposes the hegemonic gendered discourse it fails to acknowledge that song can also be used to subvert the traditional

gender roles and the asymmetrical positions in such societies as Kuria Kenya. The research is however relevant to the current study as it focuses on authentic language use in an African setting, which is the focus of this study. While the study takes a general approach to the study of the gendering song discourse, this study takes a more specific approach by analysing how metaphor use in songs is gendered and persuasive.

Obuchi and Karuru-Iribe (2014) analysed how gender biases are reflected in Kisii classical music. Obuchi and Karuru-Iribe observed that while Kisii classical music is meant to entertain and inform the music content exhibit language that is full of sexual harassment and gender-balance innuendoes. According to the two researchers, the selected Kisii music portrays women as weak. The music represent women as liars, the cause of evil and divisions in the family, foolish and boastful, tillers of the land, dependent on men for survival, untrustworthy, unfaithful, gullible when dealing with men and fit for trivial jobs. While the study does not specifically look at metaphors, it is informative to the current study as it demonstrates how language, in general, can be used to denigrate the female gender. The construction represent women as unequal to men thus reinforcing perceptions of gender-based on biological differences. The study however, does not focus on a single linguistic aspect but employs a literary analysis to explore Kisii lyrical constructs gender roles that appropriate asymmetrical power to favour masculinity.

Using the Social Semiotic theoretical framework Mbugua (1998) explored the role of language in maintaining gender stereotypes in the Gikuyu language. Mbugua analysed random based conversational data derived from a computer-based corpus. He established that Gikuyu lexicon relegates females to subordinate positions in the Kenyan society. He gave the example of the male-female order that he found to dominate the corpus. Mbugua argues that although the

psychological impact of the order could not be established from the research the connotation associated with other word pairs such as good and bad, rich and poor, life and death, it seems to point to a negative association of the female gender. Mbugua concluded that such lexicon does not only promote patriarchy but persuades audiences to view the position of women in society as natural and unchangeable.

Mbugua's (1998) study is illuminating and relevant to the current research as it is able to demonstrate the social nature of language in constituting gender views of the Gikuyu speakers in Kenya. The language projected that the Gikuyu society does not consider women and men to be equal and such views negate symmetrical power relations that modern societies wish to have. While Mbugua's research acknowledges the existence of gender-neutral terms in the Gikuyu, it does not acknowledge that the same language could be used to subvert the gender stereotypes that benefit the masculine gender. In addition, the research does not focus on a particular linguistic tool. The research, however, is relevant to the current study as it demonstrates how language can be utilised to "do gender" (see Butler, 1990).

Research demonstrates that music discourse can discursively be appropriated to expose social relations between ethnic groups. Anudo and Awuor (2018) investigated how Gikuyu and Dhuluo musicians deploy war metaphors in their songs to assert their inter-ethnic identity and political relations. Anudo and Awuor established that some metaphors used in the songs exacerbated political tensions and created an in-group and out-group relationship between the two ethnic groups. The researchers argue that the selected musicians in the study use metaphors that inflame ethnic tensions especially during political contests such as elections. Their conclusion is that musicians or other language users can discursively use metaphors to project ideologies that promote disharmony between the two ethnic groups.



Anudo and Awuor's (2018) study demonstrates the social role of language in constructing intergroup perspectives in society albeit in a negative way. The research reveals that lyrical discourse can also be appropriated to serve ideological and hegemonic positions in spheres of people's lives. The study of the war metaphors conscientise readers about musical language can be used to persuade people to interpret and evaluate ethnic differences in particular ways, thus spelling out the social role of language.

In a related study of music lyrics, Ndlangamandla (2010) analysed how female musicians in IsiSwati popular music subvert the stereotypical cultural notions of gender. In his study, Ndlangamandla established that women are able to criticise males with impunity in songs and at times through performing masculine subjectivities. He noted that at social events such as marriages, women perform their multiple subjectivities through music. According to him, the songs reveal that identity is not monolithic but fluid, multiple and sometimes contradictory (Block 2006 cited in Obuchi and Karuru-Irube, 2014). He argues that silence cannot be said to point to inferiority just as assertiveness may not portray power. Gender constructs, according to him, are always in a state of flux and are dependent on contexts and moments. Ndlangamandla claims that some of the subjectivities portrayed in the songs are subversive of asymmetrical power relations, structures and polygamy. Ndlangamandla's findings are contrary to the Western view of dominant discourses that favour masculinity as women are able to refigure identities within traditional circles and in music. Unlike Bulrag (2012), Sasaki Pikou (2014) and Holmgreen (2003) Ndlangamandla's research intimates that sometimes victims of gendered discourses resist discourse that subordinates them or makes them feel inferior.

Metaphors have been established to be both gendered and gendering. In a study of Kiswahili metaphors Simala (1998) noted that the Waswahili used female metaphors imbued with sexist overtones in song . According to her, the metaphors are products of the Swahili experience and physical environment. The researcher argues that their meaning is subterranean due to the absence of ground and tenor. Understanding the metaphors, therefore, requires knowledge of the Waswahili socio-cultural background and the behaviour of Waswahili women and the characteristics of their references. According Simala, the female metaphors are used to persuade and endear men with the women-folk. Although this study does not focus on a specific context of the Waswahili experience, it provides a context other than the Western context for one to understand how metaphor mapping is determined by the local experience and the physical environment. The study is therefore relevant and enlightening understanding how gendered metaphors are used to convey persuasively, perceptions, attitudes and values of the Shona people.

Basara and Opande (2017) investigated the use of animal metaphors in Bukusu and Gusii proverbs to represent women. Their aim was to find out if the metaphorical construction of women conforms to the common position of Lakoff and Turner. Nasumbu and Opande's study established that the Bukusu and Gusii proverbs manifest inequality in how the women are stereotypically portrayed. Women are cast as dependent on and submissive to men objects that can be married off, with the bride price creating wealth for the family. On the other hand, they observe that men are constructed as having physical charm, chastity, domestic roles procreation and family lineage tools. Nasumbu and Opande's conclusion is that the metaphorical construction of women and men perpetuate the asymmetrical order of society. The proverb presents women as property women who do not conform to the expectations are considered enemies.

Basara and Opande's (2017) study is enlightening and relevant to the present study. The study demonstrates the social role of language in shaping how people think and relate to each other in the Bukusi and Gusii communities. The study also reveals the expected roles and the values that go along with these roles in two African settings. While the study does not take a linguistic approach, it is illuminative as it reveals how proverbs capture normative gender identities, values and relations in society and how these proverbs socialise people to fit into the expectations of the society. The proverbs discursively construct what should be the ideal roles of women and men in society. The study, however, does not interrogate how some of the proverbs are used to challenge hegemonic relations between men and women.

Similar to the western research contexts, reviewed literature on discourse, gender and metaphor studies in African contexts demonstrate that much of the studies though falling into the area of Critical Discourse Analysis have taken a general approach to how language is utilised to construct gender in songs. It is also noted that where the focus has been the rhetorical purpose of gendered metaphor, it has been in other domains and not music (Mbugua 1998 *Gikuyu language*, Rapoo 2000 *metaphorical names*, Barassa and Opande, *Bukussi and Gusii proverbs* Atanga, Ellece, Litosseliti and Sunderland, 2012 *Language and gender in Southern African contexts*, Ezeifeka, *media discourse* Amed, 2018 *media discourse*. Few of the studies have focused on analysis of gendered metaphors in songs but focusing on how either male or female musicians utilised metaphors to construct gender identities and relations (Nhlekisana, 2013; Thiongo, 2015; Wambura, 2016). One interesting observation about African studies is that some researchers have exposed through analysis how discourse is used to subvert the dominant masculine gender discourses in song (O'halloran, 2007; Ndhlamandla, 2010). Few African studies have explored the role of language in the construction of gender by examining how

some linguistic resources in them are used to construct gender but not specifically rhetorical role metaphor. Linguistic studies' interests on the rhetorical role of metaphor remain low though the literature indicates that there is a rising interest by researchers to focus on the construction of gender in popular songs (Wambura, 2016 Ellece, 2011 and Nhlekisana, 2013). The next section reviews the literature on discourse, metaphor and gender studies in the Zimbabwe context.

## **2.5 Discourse, gender and metaphor studies in the Zimbabwean context**

As available literature testifies, metaphor studies have largely been carried out with reference to the English language and Western contexts, and findings have been claimed to be applicable to all languages (Machakanja, 2009). Many of the discourse studies have taken a generalised approach where metaphors appear in the studies as one of the tools of discourse that is investigated (Vambe, 2001; Mateveke, 2013; Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2013). These studies, however, provide relevant literature sources as they tackle language and representation, inherent in song. A few Zimbabwean studies have focused on Shona metaphors though (Mberi, 2003; Chapanga, 2004; Machakanja, 2009).

Using the post-colonialism literary theory as a guiding framework, Mateveke (2013) analysed Stunner's representation of Zimbabwean youths in his Hip hop songs. Mateveke observed that Stunner takes a dichotomous position in the way he represents male and female urban youth. Departing from the established view that Hip Hop music lyrics generally marginalise women, Mateveke, argues that Stunner represents women the way he does in his music because society has shaped his views. In her view, Stunner's representation of women is typical of how male musicians construct the female gender as material assets that are owned by men. Mateveke argues that Stunner's perception of women is shaped the society he lives in. She established

that juxtaposed to the representation of women in Stunner's songs are the male urban youths who are valorised as producers of wealth. She also notes that wealth for the urban youth brings power. She cites one of the urban youth in one of Stunner songs who brags that many women are after his love and attention including those that had refused to notice him before his circumstances changed. The youth boasts that women pursue him relentlessly and is to "take" them away from the not-so-endowed boyfriends. Mateveke concluded that Stunner's representation of the urban youth confirms the dominance of patriarchy ideology that women are not equal to men. Further to that, Mateveke argues that Hip Hop lyrics in the Zimbabwean context are used to represent the many identities the youth take as they respond to the different circumstances they find themselves in.

While Mateveke's (2013) study of Stunner's Hip Hop songs representation of urban youth does not focus on metaphors per se, the study is relevant to the present study as it offers an understanding of how context shapes gender perceptions that are transmitted through music. The research also illuminates how musicians also use lyrical discourse to persuade their audiences to view gender from their perspective. The study, however, does not interrogate situations where the same discourse is used to subvert what appears as common-sense views powerful people want the less powerful to accept.

Approaching representation of gender in popular music from a sociological perspective, and using discourse and content analysis, Chiweshe and Bhatasara (2013) investigated how Zimbabwean musicians use popular music discourse to entrench hegemonic masculinities and misogyny in Shona songs released in Zimbabwe between 2010 and 2015. Chiweshe and Bhatasara argue that music in Zimbabwe, like in other contexts, is a site where gender identities are contested. According to the two researchers, male musicians use words that deprecate

women as aesthetic objects to be admired, owned and used by men. They also aver that women are represented as witches and whores who are attired in mini skirts and other revealing clothes to seduce men. They argue that the discourse used by female musicians also celebrates women as suitable for the kitchen and reproducing children. The researchers concluded that such discourse perpetuates hegemonic masculinity as it fails to challenge the asymmetric power relations obtaining in society. Although Chiweshe and Bhatasara (2013) study takes a sociological perspective, it is insightful as it interrogates the nexus between language and hegemony and the effect it has on the construction of reality.

Focusing on the representation of women from the male gender perspective, Vambe (2001) analysed songs sung by male artists in Zimbabwe. From a literary perspective, Vambe concluded that Zimbabwean male artists use lyrical discourse to justify male control of female sexuality. According to him, generally male musicians in Zimbabwe depict women as victims of social circumstances, loose morals and dangerous to the well being of their male counterparts. He gives the example of Leonard Zhakata whom he says that in one of his songs represents women as vectors of disease. While Vambe (2001) does not focus on a specific linguistic tool used by the musicians his research is relevant to this study as it illuminates how language is used to entrench unequal relationships between men and women. However Vambe's research is informative for the current research as it forms a basis for understanding musicians' intentions in creating and using certain metaphors to describe or evaluate women in society.

Mberi (2003) carried out a generalised and decontextualised study of Shona metaphors. The study, however, offers valuable insights into how metaphors are mapped in the Shona language. Mberi explored and discussed the pervasiveness of metaphors in everyday Shona. He

established that metaphors in Shona are not just linguistic phenomena but are related to their cognition. Mberi exemplifies this by identifying some conceptual metaphors that give rise to certain linguistic metaphors in the Shona language. Mberi's study demonstrates that metaphor, as in other languages, extends the vocabulary of a new phenomenon. While the study takes a general approach and is not based on authentic texts arising from real contexts, the study is important, as it confirms the existence of a metaphor system in the Shona language. The study is valuable to the current study as it enriches the understanding metaphor mapping in the Shona language.

The use of metaphor in football live commentaries has also been investigated in Zimbabwe. Focusing on sports commentaries Chapanga (2004) takes a specific approach to metaphor analysis by investigating the use of war metaphors in Zimbabwe football live commentaries. Using CDA, Chapanga established that journalists used FOOTBALL IS WAR metaphor when commenting on soccer teams and individual players' performances in matches. Chapanga, however, uses a different context from the focus of this study in that he analyses how soccer commentators speaking in English deploy war metaphors in soccer matches live commentaries. Chapanga's study, however, does not explore the ideology that informs the use of the metaphors. The current study makes a departure by adopting the Critical Metaphor Analysis theory, a CDA theory dedicated to metaphor analysis.

Machakanja (2009) adopted a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural approach to the study of conceptual metaphors. In his study, Machakanja focused on comparing metaphorical expressions of English and Shona in the same or similar domains in order to establish whether there are similarities on one hand and or differences cross-linguistically or cross-culturally. Machakanja's research confirms the importance of cultural and physical contexts in the

generation of metaphor, at both conceptual and linguistic metaphor level. His findings provide a basis for understanding variations in meaning that may arise because of cultural differences when trying to understand Shona metaphors. His study establishes that there are underlying similarities and assumptions guiding conceptual metaphors. He, however, similar to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) does not use authentic language texts in authentic contexts. The current study uses a different data set in the real context of language use and adopts a specific methodology to explore the persuasive conceptualisation of gender through metaphor.

Kadenge and Mavunga (2010) studied metaphors created and used by Zimbabweans in response to the Zimbabwean political and economic crisis that occurred around 2008. Using the cognitive analysis framework, observation and interviews, Kadenge and Mavunga established that Zimbabwean Shona speakers created and used metaphorical terms and expressions for purposes that include concealing illegal activities such as; changing foreign currency in the street, describing and evaluating challenges they were facing and talking about corruption. One interesting observation and argument the two researchers make is that much of the metaphors arise from the experiences of the Zimbabweans at some historical point of their lives that included notorious methods used by the Zimbabwean police to conceal beatings of suspects. According to the researchers, such metaphors as “Ijipita” Egypt were used to refer to the situation obtaining in Zimbabwe at the time. Their conclusion is that metaphor mapping and use reflect the context in which they are used. While this research does not target the same domain of metaphor use, the study provides an understanding of how metaphor meaning relates to the context and experience of the language users.

Using Discourse Analysis as a theoretical framework Chari (2008) analysed the projection of women in male urban grooves music in Zimbabwe. His findings were that the lyrical content



of male-produced “urban grooves” celebrates negative stereotypes of women, violence against women, the commodification of women and other negatives which he claims disempowers women in society. Although Chari used Discourse Analysis as his framework he approached the analysis from a literary point of view and does not focus on a particular linguistic feature. In his analysis, he examines the images of women as portrayed by linguistic metaphors. According to him, metaphor is used to describe women, girls and sexual relations. In one song, a girl is described as “a fetish” and winning over a girl as a “conquest” and pregnancy as the “ultimate trophy” in a relationship (Chari, 2008). His conclusion is that the gendered metaphors demean and devalue women and such constructions legitimise patriarchal hegemonic cultural narratives that disempower women. Chari argues that such lyrical discourse reinforces women inferiority and dependence on men. He also concluded that male urban groovers in Zimbabwe construct women in subordinate positions, and as materialistic, depended and inferior and worthy only as sex objects.

While Chari focuses on masculinity constructions of gender, the current study explores how both males and females are constructed through metaphor in songs. Chari’s (2008) research is, however, relevant and instructive as it is carried out in a context that is non-western. The use of metaphors by the urban groovers is indicative of how they can be deployed in music for persuasive purposes. However, Chari’s study takes a general view of how music discourse, metaphor included, is used to construct, perpetuate and reinforce gender notions. The study does not interrogate how the same discourse can be used to persuasively reinforce or challenge these notions through specific language tools such as the metaphor. Such an analysis may serve to better explain and understand gender notions of gender performance that may seem out of place in the Shona cultural context.

Music discourse studies in Zimbabwe have also sought to establish the nexus between popular music and ideology. Pfukwa (2008) investigated the role of popular music created and sung in guerrilla camps in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Pfukwa noted that music sung in guerrilla camps did not just serve an entertainment purpose but also an ideological one. In his analysis he established the Zimbabwe war time music discourse served as a morale booster, and projected narratives that countered the colonial and White settler narratives. He also noted that by using such rhetorical tools as humour and sexual innuendo the discourse exposed the asymmetrical power relations that the colonial and white settler governments were infamous for. Pfukwa concludes that music discourse can be used to conscientise masses about a cause that benefits them. Taking a different trajectory, this study seeks to establish how metaphorical discourse in Shona music lyrics is used to navigate polemic gender positions in the Shona society.

While Pfukwa's (2008) study does not focus on metaphor per se, it was able to demonstrate the social function of language in authentic communication situations where lyrical discourse was utilised to engage and persuade black Zimbabweans to participate in the war of liberation. This concurs with the observation that lyrical discourse is not just meant to entertain but also cause an understanding of social issues from particular perspectives (Finnegan, 2012). Given that observation, the discursive role of lyrical discourse becomes clear, that is, to propagate an ideology or ideologies. Pfukwa's study is however different from this study in that whereas Pfukwa does not focus on specific linguistic tools, this study explores how metaphors in popular music lyrics present, debate and interpret gender issues in Zimbabwe.

Mukenge and Chimbarange (2015) analysed how Oliver Mtukudzi used lyrical discourse to represent HIV and AIDS pandemic in Zimbabwe. Guided by the Critical Discourse Analysis

framework the researchers concluded that Oliver Mtukudzi engages the Zimbabwean public from a clear feminist ideology. According to the researchers, Mtukudzi used similes, proverbs and metaphors to expose HIV and AIDS socio-economic issues. The researchers noted that Mtukudzi used music discourse to persuade people to reconsider their morals as they had become key driver of the spread of the pandemic. The researchers also observed that Mtukudzi used lyrical discourse to highlight asymmetrical power relations between men and women in a society that he linked to the spread of HIV and AIDS. The researchers also note that without downplaying the entertainment role of music Mtukudzi carefully created lyrics that engaged the public and navigated around cultural sensitive topics.

Chimbarange and Mukenge (forthcoming) studied the use of metaphor in Mtukudzi selected songs. Using Charteris-Black's (2004) theoretical framework, the researchers established that Mtukudzi utilised metaphors to subvert stereotypical representation of women and to encourage his audience to view men and women as equals. The current study, however, takes a paradigm shift by broadening the research to include a wider sample and explore how the metaphors mirror gender debates within the identified period. Chimbarange and Mukenge's study is relevant to the current study as it offers an understanding of how metaphors are utilised to construct gender relations and identities in music discourse.

Moyo (2008) studied Albert Nyathi's lyrical discourse to establish how music can be utilised to engage the public in dialogue of socio-economic and political issues. According to Moyo, Albert Nyathi's lyrical discourse presents and notes problems bedevilling the society. Albert Nyathi used lyrical discourse to talk about such problems as food shortages, human rights and the general closing political space. By critically analysing the lyrics of selected songs, Nyathi does not only expose the social ills but also suggests solutions as he persuades people to engage

each other to improve the situation. While Moyo's (2008) study is embedded in literary studies, it is a rich source for understanding the social nature of language. Implicated by the study is that music provides a platform that overtly discusses what other spaces may be incapable of. Moyo's study demonstrates that music texts are dialogical and they should be taken seriously in understanding and finding ways to resolve problems. The current study explores how metaphors in music lyrics are utilised to construct or deconstruct gender ideologies that favour one gender over the other.

Existing Zimbabwean research on discourse, metaphor and gender has mainly been approached from literary and sociological perspectives (Vambe, 2001; Mateveke, 2013; Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2013). While there have been some studies in Zimbabwe on functions of metaphor in discourse, these have focused on other domains and not the music domain (Mberi, 2003; Kadenge and Mavunga, 2010; Chapanga, 2004; Machakanja, 2009; Pfukwa, 2013). Few studies have focused on music discourse by examining the construction of gender not focusing on a specific linguistic tool (Chimbarange and Mukenge, 2013; Mateveke, 2013; Chari, 2008) and focusing on metaphor (Chimbarange and Mukenge, Forthcoming). The review of Zimbabwean literature therefore shows a paucity of research on the rhetorical function of metaphor in the construction of gender despite its wide use in music discourse.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

The reviewed literature has indicated that there is an upsurge of interest in the study of the rhetorical function of metaphor particularly in business and political domains, leaving the rhetorical and pragmatic value in such domains as music under-researched. Much of the studies, however, have used data sets that include political, economics, advertisement and journalistic genres in Western contexts and few studies have focused on gendered metaphors

in music lyrics in non-western contexts. The few research that has focused on the discursive role of metaphor in creating social realities in song have not explored gender debates, norms, and values imbued in the metaphorical lyrical discourse. They have also focused on the linguistic metaphors leaving the underlying conceptual metaphors unexplored yet the conceptual metaphors motivate the linguistic metaphors. As a site, however, music has generally been shown to possess a powerful influence on people's attitudes on gender as it can be used to construct, reinforce and, in some instances, challenge what linguists refer to as hegemonic masculinities. This study, therefore, using Charteris-Black's (2004) CMA framework, which goes further by combining CDA and CMT to account for the pragmatic and ideological role of metaphor. This extends scholarship on understanding the rhetorical effect of metaphor on the transmission of gender value system in a different domain and context.

## **CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the theoretical framework guiding the thesis. First, the chapter presents Critical Discourse Analysis as an offshoot of Critical Linguistics from where contemporary studies of metaphor are grounded. The chapter then presents the conceptualisation of metaphor according to the traditional view, classical and contemporary view. A definition of metaphor is given according to Cognitive and Critical linguistics perspectives, CDA and CMT theories are also presented as underlying theories in the Critical Metaphors Analysis framework. The chapter then presents the key theory of the study, that is, Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). To support the CMA framework the study draws from, Lazar, Foucault and Judith Butler's views on discourse and gender. The theoretical input of the three linguists is considered critical in providing an understanding of how gender relations are discursively enacted, constructed or deconstructed to represent gender perspectives in Shona song lyrics. The chapter also briefly presents overarching concepts in relation to the chosen theoretical framework. These include music discourse, gender and ideology. The motivating rationale is that understanding them is crucial in the final analysis of data.

### **3.2 Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis**

Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) which is an off-shoot of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides the main framework that guide the analysis of gendered metaphors in this study. CDA is an amalgamation of discourse analysis theories united by a common purpose of exposing, through discourse analysis, how discourse is consciously or unconsciously used to maintain hegemonic asymmetrical relations that privilege powerful groups in society. On the other hand, the CMA theory is a fusion of theories from both Critical Linguistics and Cognitive linguistics that is dedicated to the analysis of the cognitive and

rhetorical use of metaphor in discourse. However, it is prudent to briefly highlight tenets of the theories that undergird the CMA theory and explore the criticism that has been levelled against the theories.

Proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) consider it as an approach and method to discourse analysis that is primarily concerned with institutionalised contexts such as gender, media, policy, gender labelling and so on (Van Dijk, 1993a; Wodak, 1995; Fairclough, 1995a; ). While there are many different approaches that fall within the Critical Discourse Approach, these approaches are united by how discourse is conceptualised and the purpose of Discourse Analysis. Analysts within this paradigm see CDA as meant to solve social problems. Proponents claim that power relations enacted in discourse serve discursive purposes and therefore discourse analysts should expose these power relations (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258). As Fiske (1994:23) puts it, there are always interests in how a language is constructed, “words are never neutral”. What Fiske implies is that there is always a politicisation of words even if we are not aware of it. In other words, discourse is anchored in ideology. Texts analysts, according to the CDA analysts, should therefore make explicit underlying ideological motivation for language use. For example, in the context of this study, CDA should reveal why musicians use particular metaphors in the way they do to sing about men and women.

Linguists subscribing to this paradigm also view discourse as reflecting society and culture and its use as arising from ideological positions (van Dijk, 1993a; Wodak, 1995; Fairclough, 2000). Van Dijk (1993a) points out that discourse should not be regarded as being about the present only but should be viewed as having history embedded in it. The CDA analysts further underline that the purpose of discourse analysis should be to make overt what is covert,

interpret and give explanations of the motivations behind particular constructions of texts (Fairclough, 2000). When this is done, the proponents claim that it is some form of social action that mobilises the marginalised to change their circumstances (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:271-280). The analysts are clear that the kind of Discourse Analysis they engaged in is undertaken from a committed position and they make no apology for being on the side of the marginalised.

According to CDA, language mediates reality and is a source of power. Proponents of the framework argue that reality is not fixed, for the same language can be used to change it (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). The argument suggests that since language can be constructed, it can also be deconstructed and reconstructed. Thus, discourse can also be used to challenge or negotiate reality to improve the circumstances of the downtrodden or victims (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258).

Despite offering an attractive framework for analysing discourse through its eclectic approach, CDA has been criticised as viewing meaning as residing in texts ignoring that people aspects contribute to meaning-making. Widdowson (2005) cited in Breeze (2011) argues that the theory fails to acknowledge the role played by the reader's knowledge and beliefs which may generate different understandings of the same text. According to him, the reader aspects may affect the meaning that the reader extracts from a text and it is, therefore, possible for two different readers to have different interpretations of a text. Widdowson also points out that there is also a possibility for analysts to cherry-pick what serves their purpose from data instead of considering the whole corpus. CDA is also criticised for failing to come up with a theory that establishes the link between discourse and social cognition (Chilton, 2005). Because it borrows heavily on Marx's theory, some critics argue that it is premised on a theory that has



failed and thus discredited (Chiton, 2005; Widdowson, 2005). When some of these criticisms are taken into account, Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis theory offers an alternative theory that addresses CDA's weaknesses by incorporating CMT and pragmatics aspects of metaphor analysis.

In order to explicate the Critical Metaphor Analysis framework, the next section traces the historical development of metaphor. Traditionally metaphor was considered merely a figure of speech that speakers used to embellish poems or speeches with. This understanding of metaphor is known in linguistic studies as the classical view of metaphor. The classical view has been superseded by what is now referred to as the contemporary view.

### **3.3 The classical view of metaphor**

A number of metaphor theories have emerged going back to Aristotle's time to two thousand years ago. These theories seem to vary according to the overall disciplinary perspective from which metaphor is examined. Metaphor has been researched in different areas such as Social Sciences and Humanities (Tarveniers, 2002). It is not the aim of this thesis to review the literature on how metaphor is conceptualised in all these areas but to concentrate on the understanding espoused in the linguistic field. In that regard metaphor conception of such scholars such as Aristotle (1991), Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Goatly (2000) and Charteris-Black, (2004) are explored. This section explores, first explores the classical view of metaphor and the contemporary view before defining metaphor.

The classical view of metaphor is associated with such scholars as Aristotle and the discipline of rhetoric (Evans and Green, 2006:293). This view regards metaphor as an ornamental and linguistic tool for persuasion in speech. Aristotle defined metaphor as the application of an

alien name by transference (cited in Koller, 2006). In a poetic metaphor, what is compared assumes the attributes of what it is likened to, for instance, “She is Delilah” (Evans and Green 2000: 293). The metaphor draws comparison between the Biblical Delilah and the person being referred to. The assumption being that the listener, reader, or audience is aware of the story of Samson and Delilah. The metaphor transfers Delilah attributes such as beautiful, irresistible, seductive, cheat, on the target person. Aristotle further explained that while they resemble similes, metaphors are more effective because of their brevity. This is because a simile uses as ...as or like to make a comparison while a metaphor omits the comparative form. Thus, a speaker or writer is able to say in a word or phrase what can be said in a paragraph. It is this compactness that makes a metaphor a valuable linguistic tool in music or speeches. Of significance, according to Aristotle, is that metaphors have an everlasting impact on the listener or reader because they create mental images in listeners and readers. This, according to Ortony (2002:2) forms the basis of the comparison theory of metaphor. Aristotle’s view constitutes what has come to be known as the classical view of metaphor. In essence, this view regards a metaphor as a specialised trait of ornamental language, used to construct imagery for rhetorical purposes. This also makes a metaphor a linguistic tool that is optional and outside normal language (Saeed 2007: 346). Deignan (2002:2) adds her voice to this by arguing that the classical view regards metaphor as a show of creativity by the language user and has no link with the way people think.

The classical view of metaphor made the distinction between poetic and conventional metaphors. Poetic metaphors were regarded as arising from the speaker’s creativity, infrequent, hard to interpret and understood within context. The view further claimed that only native speakers understand their metaphoricity. On the other hand, dead or conventional metaphors are those metaphors that have become part of the everyday lexicon, that is, conventionalised,

and native speakers hardly notice their metaphoricity. At a point in time, dead metaphors were novel but are now idioms, for instance, “to kick the bucket” (Fraser, 1993:330)

The classical view falls short of accounting for the existence of metaphors in everyday language. If it were correct, metaphors would not be found in everyday language (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Further, while it forms the basis for later understanding of a metaphor, the classical view, however, does not explain how metaphors are constructed or processed, save to say that they are linguistic tools drawing comparison between dissimilar phenomena, emerge out of the speaker or poet’s creativity and that they can be used for rhetorical purposes. The classical view also does not explain why different metaphors can be used to conceptualise the same phenomenon. These weaknesses and the abundant existence of metaphors give birth to what is described as, the contemporary view of metaphor, a view that claims that metaphors underlie cognitive processes (Newmark, 1988; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Goatly, 1995; Charteris-Black 2004).

For some time, the classical view was upheld until later research. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) changed the way a metaphor is now conceptualised. Lakoff and Johnson and other discourse analysts such as Goatly (2000) and Charteris-Black (2004)’s contribution to metaphor conceptualisation and theory represent the extension of the romantic view.

### **3.4 The contemporary view of metaphor**

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) dispelled the notion that a metaphor is a figure of speech limited to poetic language and rhetoric. They argue that metaphor exists in everyday language as evidenced in conversations, journalists’ reports and politician’s speeches. According to their research, metaphor is not inherently a linguistic phenomenon but also permeates patterns of

thought. They argue that these patterns of thought are not limited to the verbal expressions but can also be expressed nonverbally and could include gestures, pictures and diagrams (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Over and above that, metaphor involves cognition as they manifest how human beings perceive the world.

Newmark (1988:104) who argues that besides the aesthetic purpose, a metaphor also has a cognitive role to play in discourse supports Lakoff and Johnson (1980) views and observations. In his view, the cognitive value is to describe a mental process and the aesthetic one is to appeal to the mental process of the addressee. The contemporary view contrasts with the classical view as it regards metaphor as interlinked with language and thought and all language is seen as essentially metaphorical (Saeed, 2007:346). Current metaphor theories reject the view that all language is metaphorical (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Newman, 1988; Goatly, 1995; Charteris-Black, 2004). This may never the less be considered an extension of the contemporary view as it regards metaphor as integral to language as well as to human thought (Saeed, 2007:346). A metaphor therefore is a word or phrase used in a way that makes its meaning different from the literal meaning (Charteris-Black, 2004). Charteris-Black further states that a metaphor represents some kind of an unusual way of using language whose meaning can only be understood from the context. A metaphor in that sense and put simply is when a word or phrase takes on a new meaning in a context that is not literal. The contemporary view distinguishes linguistic metaphors from conceptual metaphors. According to this view, dead/conventional metaphors constitute underlying patterns of thought (conceptual metaphor) which represent general thought. Thus, linguistic metaphors can be used to represent the underlying thought. Therefore, this implicitness makes the metaphor uncommon language use. A conceptual metaphor, on the other hand, refers to an underlying concept that is represented by linguistic expressions or linguistic metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004). In other words,

linguistic metaphors are a surface realisation of conceptual metaphors and each conceptual metaphor can have several linguistic metaphors that express it.

This thesis adopts the view that metaphor is cognitive, ornamental and in discourse can be used strategically to persuade by describing, interpreting and evaluating objects, processes or phenomena. Thus, it is possible for language users in music lyrics to use it subtly to ideologically plant ideas and persuade the audience to accept particular views on how men and women should relate in society. This study/thesis explores the discursive aspect of metaphor in selected Shona popular songs in order to understand how the songs become agents of perpetuation or rejection of particular gender views. To contextual Critical Metaphor Analysis, it is necessary to first briefly to trace its foundation in discourse analysis, critical linguistics and cognitive linguistics.

### **3.5 Metaphor from critical and cognitive linguistics perspectives**

The previous section explored the classical view of metaphor and the contemporary view of metaphor. The classical view of metaphor regarded metaphor as an ornamental linguistic tool associated with poetry, rhetoric and literature and the contemporary view regards metaphor as cognitive and pervasive in everyday language (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Cognitive linguistics and Critical linguistics firmly associate metaphor with cognition and everyday language. This section explores the definition of metaphor according to Cognitive and Critical linguistics. In so doing, Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Metaphor theories are also explored to give a background of Critical Metaphor Analysis theory, which undergirds this study.

### 3.5.1 Metaphor and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory, sometimes referred to as the Cognitive Metaphor Theory, extends the traditional definition of a metaphor by emphasising the cognitive and pervasive nature of metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Its central tenet is that a metaphor is cognitive. Lakoff and Johnson claim a metaphor creation and processing is mental. According to them, linguistic metaphors are manifestations of underlying concepts, which they call conceptual metaphor. They explain that a conceptual metaphor is a way of conceptualising one thing, usually something abstract, in terms of another usually a more concrete one, which process they call mapping (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Thus, mapping uses a concrete phenomenon to understand a more abstract one. This, Lakoff and Johnson claim is, processed mentally and during the process qualities of something that is concrete or within the experience of the individual is used to understand what is abstract. They refer to the mental process as mapping, hence the argument that a metaphor is cognitive. At the surface level, this is then expressed as linguistic metaphors/Linguistic expressions, such as *He **attacked** his argument*. The Conceptual Metaphor is expressed as an ordinary metaphor to link two concepts, for example, ARGUMENT and WAR to form the CM, ARGUMENT IS WAR. The Conceptual Metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR represents an umbrella concept but also covers all instances where these two concepts are linked, for instance, ‘the opposition attacked the bill’ or ‘the battle over the bill went into the wee hours of the night’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

The other tenet is that most abstract concepts are understood through concrete experiences. Lakoff (1993) cites the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY: which is then realised linguistically through expressions such as, “He got a head start in life. He is without direction in life. I’m where I want to be in life...” (Lakoff, 1993: 203). Metaphor, therefore, facilitates the understanding of target domain that is normally vague and abstract via source domains that

are more tangible and concrete. In this sense, as language users, we use metaphors to understand abstract concepts and to extend our vocabulary when dealing with new phenomenon or concepts that are not within our experience.

The theory claims that domain mapping of metaphor highlights and hides aspects of the target domain (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980b). Some features are fore-grounded or back-grounded during the mapping process depending on the purpose of the speaker, writer or musician (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980b). Some of the aspects of the target domain therefore, remain hidden. This partial or foregrounding of certain features of the target domain gives the language user choice whether consciously or unconsciously to high light certain aspects making it a possible strategy for the implicit presentation of beliefs and value systems. This is the basis of treating metaphor as ideologically vested. Discourse analysts claim that this makes it possible for language users to create particular reality favourable to their interests (Fairclough, 2000; Deignan, 2005; Charteris-Black ,2004). This understanding of metaphor, therefore, can be used to determine the motivation for choices that musicians make in mapping a gendered metaphor in their songs.

The view that metaphor is cognitive (Lakoff and Johnson), receives support from other linguists such as Deignan (2005). Deignan argues that metaphor mapping and its use is contextual, that is, language users draw sources from the environment and experience. According to her, linguistic metaphors are representations of choices at the subconscious level. Speakers derive choices from their cultural experiences. She emphasises the cognitive nature of metaphor and its link to context and implicates is that to understand metaphor, language users draw from their experience with the source domain, suggesting that context determines what a metaphor means and how it is understood. As Gwyn (1999) asserts, metaphors make it possible for people, not

just to talk and think about difficult things, but also make their feelings known by others. How people construct and use a metaphor, therefore, is culturally constrained making it necessary to study metaphor in different contexts to understand metaphorically imbued values in music discourse.

While the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has revolutionised the metaphor is contemporarily viewed, it has also attracted criticism. The major criticism is that it is based on contrived data rather than language in use. Critics point to the data used by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) which is not linked to a specific context. The theory is also criticised for its failure to account for the choices that people make (Kovecses, 2008). It is also said to lack a clear method of extracting conceptual metaphors as researchers argue that proponents base conceptual metaphors on intuitive extraction, thus, undermining the reliability of its metaphor identification method (Kovecses, 2008). The theory, however, has strong aspects that have made understanding of a metaphor better, that is, the pervasiveness of metaphors and they are cognitive. The Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), which rides on the weaknesses of CDA and CMT, marries concepts from Critical Linguistics, Cognitive linguistics and corpus Linguistics to highlight metaphor as a critical rhetorical tool. The next section presents the theory adopted to be the main framework for this study, that is, the Critical Metaphor Analysis theory.

### **3.6 Critical Metaphor Analysis Theory**

The Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) was propounded by Charteris-Black (2004) in the context of analysing political discourse. The theory is largely a Critical Discourse Analysis framework, which integrates the cognitive aspects of the Cognitive Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2000) aspects and pragmatics. The theory's principal aim is to explain rhetorical choices revealed by metaphor use and



indicate preferences for ideological purposes at individual level, which it claims is influenced by a speaker's knowledge of a language, context, social pragmatics, history and culture. In other words, there are choices that are made when language users construct metaphors for strategic reasons and these choices reflect invested interests in discourse. Critical Metaphor Analysis is concerned with revealing the hidden choices that may be responsible for presenting issues as common sense, for the purposes of legitimising them (Charteris-Black, 2004). As a result, metaphor analysis should reveal the speaker's intention and his or her purpose in the context. This is a point of departure from the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) which is accused of failing to explain how choices of metaphors project the same issue using different metaphors and generating different meanings. This CMA tenet thus, concurs with the traditional view that rhetors substituted the literal word for a metaphoric one for the purposes of persuasion making a metaphor a tool of argumentation, composition and style. The CMA framework seeks to reveal implicit speaker intentions (conscious or unconscious) and hidden power relations through analysing underlying concepts and their manifestation as surface linguistic expressions. Its key element is that metaphor mapping can be manipulated, giving it potential for use in ideological posturing. Just like the political discourse on which the theory is based, this thesis argues that the choices that musicians make when mapping metaphors are not neutral but motivated by what the musician wants to project about gender.

The CMA theory further asserts that metaphor in discourse reflects choices made by the language user (Charteris-Black, 2004). It is possible, therefore, for discourse analysts to examine metaphor in its context of use and reveal the speaker's intentions as manifested by the choice of a metaphor. According to the theory, since the speaker's intentions underlie the choice of a metaphor, the motivating ideology can also be revealed. Linguistic expressions,

therefore, are evidence of underlying concepts (Charteris–Black, 2004: 28). In this way, the social function of language and purposes as enunciated by Fairclough’s (1995a) assertion that no discourse is neutral, are taken into consideration. Thus, the theory emphasises the cognitive aspect of the metaphor without down-playing the rhetorical aspect. This makes the theory relevant to analysis of music discourse to understand motivations for the choice and use of metaphors to talk about men and women relationships.

The other tenet of CMA theory is that speakers of a language do not always use the same metaphor for the same notion (Charteris-Black, 2004). This means that language users may use different metaphors to express the same feeling or idea. In addition to that, Charteris-Black (2004) claims that the choice is ideological since the same metaphor can be used in other contexts. This therefore makes linguistic metaphors a reflection of underlying concepts whose assumptions can only be exposed through analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004). This position of CMA emphasises the purpose of embarking on any discourse analysis according to CDA, which is, to interrogate and expose what appears as common sense to ordinary language users. Thus, subjecting music lyrics should lay bare gender values and perspectives of the Shona speaking people.

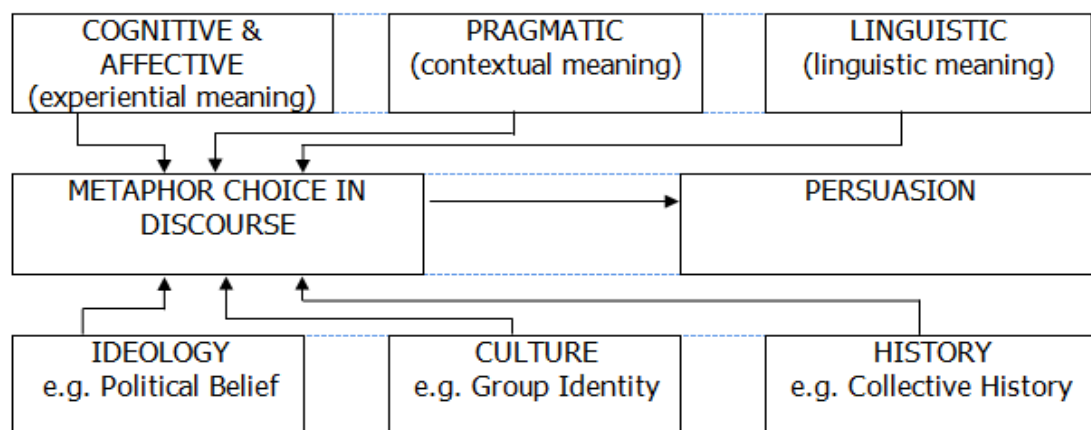
The CMA theory acknowledges the critical role that context plays in metaphor analysis, thus bringing in the pragmatic aspect of metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2004). The theory recommends that discourse analysts using the paradigm, consider how metaphors are used strategically in context. The contextual meaning of a metaphor allows the analyst to explain why it has been preferred in a text. The literal meaning provides the basis on which the metaphor is understood in context (Levinson, 1983). CMA, therefore, emphasises that to have a better understanding

of a metaphor meaning, the literal meaning, social, and contextual meaning should be considered.

The failure by the Conceptual Metaphor Theory to explain the different choices made by language users in mapping a metaphor to express views motivate the inclusion of the pragmatic element in CMA. In this thesis, the cognitive, pragmatic and ideological aspects of metaphor are considered to illuminate a broad understanding of metaphor choices that are made by the various musicians who form the sample for the study of gendered metaphors in popular Shona songs.

To illustrate elements/aspects that CMA considers in its analysis Charteris-Black (2004) proposes the following discourse model.

#### **Individual Resources**



**Figure 1: A discourse model for metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2004:248)**

As illustrated in the model above, CMA proposes conceptual levels of metaphor analysis that are hierarchical. The analysis starts with identifying conceptual/ metaphors keys, which is then followed by conceptual metaphors and finally the linguistic metaphors. To illustrate this,

Charteris-Black (2004: 244) gives the example of metaphors in the Bible where HUMANS ARE PLANTS (conceptual key, PEOPLE ARE FRUITS (Psalm 127:3) as the conceptual metaphor. At the apex of the model are conceptual metaphor keys, followed by conceptual metaphors and metaphors that stand for metaphorical expressions. The theory borrows from CDA where the choice of these metaphors is argued to be motivated by one's ideology, making discourse analysis an activity to expose the hidden hegemonic intentions or how discourse is being employed discursively to entrench dominance and hegemony (Charteris-Black, 2004 ;248). As shown in the diagram various factors conspire in order for the persuasive rhetorical function of a metaphor to be achieved. These factors are one's ideology, culture and collective history (experience). Charteris-Black's (2004) model, therefore, is essentially an interdisciplinary approach to discourse analysis that focuses on unravelling how metaphor is used for rhetorical purposes to present views in texts as common sense.

According to Charteris-Black (2004), Critical Metaphor Analysis can be summarised as a framework that is aimed at exploring speaker intentions ingrained in metaphors, revealing the hidden intentions of the discourse. The framework adopts the traditional role of metaphor that metaphor is still a tool for rhetoric. CMA also emphasises that understanding of metaphor requires linguistic knowledge and context (socio-cultural and communicative) thus giving metaphor a pragmatic value in discourse. The theory, in essence, is based on the claim that linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic criteria work together and metaphor is better understood when these are taken into account in the analysis. While it has been applied in political discourse analysis the theory can be applied to analysis of music discourse as a site where notions of gender are constructed or deconstructed.

Despite its noble intentions of addressing the previous discourse analysis frame works' weaknesses, CMA has also received criticism. One criticism relates to validity because of contexts in which it has been applied. Generally, it has been applied to political, financial and religious discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004; Mohammed, 2014, Koller, 2006; Lopez, 2010). CMA theory needs to be applied in other "contexts" such as music discourse where the persuasive purpose of discourse may be overshadowed by the entertainment value. Just as its predecessors' representativeness that results from the randomness of data (Widdowson, 1998) or lack of rigour, the study aims at being as truthful and transparent as possible by giving sufficient data source and enough data to provide a representative sample. A detailed description of the methodology is also given to allow any reader to trace the detailed, in-depth analysis (Wodak and Meyer, 2015: 11). CMT and CDA infused in the framework are said to suffer from theoretical tensions or inconsistencies. The metaphor identification method it proposes is criticised for giving room to subjectivity. This, however, is addressed by incorporating metaphor identification Pragglejaz Group (2007) and Steen's (2007) method of metaphor identification to cater for its weaknesses.

The CMA theory, however, regardless of the noted weaknesses, still offers an eclectic, more focused and comprehensive approach of analysing metaphors in texts. The framework offers possibilities of being extended to other discourse genres such as music discourse where, despite undeclared positions, musicians through a choice of metaphor in lyrics have the potential to influence beliefs and values that people may have. Adoption of the Pragglejaz Group (2007)'s metaphor identification method in this study reduces researcher subjectivity. The use of data from a different context where persuasion is key provides an opportunity to extend the validity of the theory. The CMA framework is also appropriate for this study as it draws attention to discourse as a site where and in particular metaphor meanings are produced/constructed,

maintained and or subverted thereby shaping possibilities and limitations for the audience's understanding of gender. It is envisaged that the analysis, will provide an indepth understanding of how gender notions are constructed, sustained, subverted and negotiated through metaphorical framing, all for persuasive purposes.

### **3.7 Gender perspectives**

This section briefly presents theories of gender that give support to CMA theory. The researcher considers these theories as necessary in navigating the analysis of gendered metaphors in songs. It is considered worthwhile to put gender in its proper context. Only three theories on gender were considered to provide a background and for carrying out the analysis.

#### **3.7.1 Defining gender**

Gender is a term that has been contestable, not only in linguistics studies but in other disciplines as well. The commonly held view (ordinary and academicians) is when it is used interchangeably with sex (Franklin, 1998). This view ties gender to biology and the binary categories of male and female. In that sense, gender is equated to biological sex, considered natural, stable and unchangeable. The contemporary view makes a distinction between the two terms, sex and gender. According to this view, sex refers to physical attributes and hormonal attributes that distinguish a male from a female. Gender, on the other hand, refers to what the society and culture attribute to males and females (Diamond, 2002). The view emphasises that gender identity, unlike sex, is not stable and is a product of culture and society and individuals acquire gender within cultural settings. Apart from learning through gender models, Butler (1990) contends that much of the construction of gender takes place through language. Language persuasively enacts or inculcates gender notions and values according to a given context (Butler, 1990; Kovesces, 2010; Sunderland and Litosseleti, 2000) and because contexts

vary it is not expected that gender notions and values to be the same. The other view is that gender is in the mind, refers to cultural rules and roles prescribed by society relating to being male or female. The view goes further to assert that it is gender that positions men and women in different roles, what they can do and cannot do, the rights they have, what is available to them in families, where they live and ambitions they can pursue in life (Bird and Melville, 1994: 34).

From the definitions above, it can be surmised that gender is much more than one's sex but a social construct whose conceptualisation is dynamic and contextual. Although there are universally shared views of gender, different contexts ascribe different notions as intimated by culture. The world over, gender roles are prescribed by society and individuals acquire them within the context of their culture. The prescribed roles determine what constitutes acceptable manners within individuals' communities. Traditionally, women have been expected to take care of children with men playing minimal roles (Franklin, 1988). Gender, therefore, connotes different roles for men and women and such understanding can be expected to be conveyed in music discourse through such linguistic tools as metaphors. Music discourse analysis should, therefore, yield understandings of gender perspectives of a society.

### **3.7.2 Gender and the Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis perspective**

The Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis approach (FCDA) marries Critical Discourse Analysis with perspectives from gender studies and in Lazar's words, the approach is decidedly political as it does not strive for "objectivity" or "neutrality" but weaved in the author's hunches and personal viewpoint is explicit in the argument (Lazar, 2007). Lazar further argues that the approach does not seek to smuggle a new Critical Discourse Analysis approach but to make the CDA more robust. FCDA approaches discourse analysis from a constructionist perspective

with a clear understanding that gender perceptions and identities are not static but products of historical and cultural locations despite that the identities may be viewed as natural and a reflection of history (Lazar, 2007). According to this perspective, analysts view discourse as an element of social practice especially its discursive aspects, which are ideological (Cameron, 1999; Lazar, 2007; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995; Atanga et al, 2012). The theorists argue that discourse sets up (*constitutes*) and is set up (*constituted*) by social situations, institutions and structures. In this sense, constitution entails that wherever meaning is, discourse contributes to the reproduction and maintenance of the social order. Discourse, they argue is not limited to setting up the order but can also be used to subvert that same order. Discourse, feminist theorists further posit, can be analysed through critical examining representation relationships and identities. When undertaking discourse analysis, therefore, feminist critical discourse analysts focus on how gender ideology and gender relations of power are reproduced, negotiated and contested in the representations of social practices, in social relations between people and in people's social and personal identities in text and talk.

Further to laying bare discourse that advantage men over women, the critical feminist underlying analysis of discourse is in three domains of what the feminists call gender rationality, which according to them may be signalled explicitly or maintained implicitly in the studies (Lazar, 2007). Largely, the feminist critical discourse analyst also focuses on what Butler (1990) coined performativity and identity. The feminist perspective claims that their concern is not with women in isolation but women alongside men in the particular gender order. It follows therefore from the assertion that feminist critical discourse analysts emphasise working with language in authentic contexts, which agrees with Critical Metaphor Analysis, the major theory upon which analysis of gendered metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse rests. The FCDA approach concerns itself with laying bare how men are represented in text and how



women sometimes rally together to resist hegemonic discourses or how women promote masculinities that discriminate against other women. By so doing proponents FCDA proponents argue that the approach while exposing gender discrimination mobilises and encourage both man and women to take action by changing their attitudes.

The framework, like other Critical Discourse Analysis approaches in the same stable, has been criticised for lacking objectivity and neutrality (see Widdowson 2005 cited in Breeze (2011)). Analysts are said to be subjective in the way they select texts and fail to address the issue of representativeness of data sets (Stubbs, 1997). As in other CDA frameworks, analyst staves off this criticism by being systematic in the way the analysis is carried out. Notwithstanding these criticisms, the FCDA framework offers a fresh view of understanding gender. FDCA's commitment to to a particular domain of discourse analysis makes the exercise more purposeful and rich.

While the feminist approach to discourse analysis is not the main framework that guides this study its perspectives are relevant to the analysis of gendered metaphor in lyrical discourse of Shona songs as the songs deal with gender. It is also relevant as far as it guides the analyst to be cognisant of the fact that asymmetrical gender relations manifest themselves in men and women interactions. The study further draws from Butler and Foucault's perspectives for analytical guidance to have a deeper understanding of how gender is constructed or challenged in discourse.

### **3.7.3 Michael Foucault views on discourse and gender**

Foucault views gender as enacted in discourse Foucault 1977 (cited in Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000). According to him, discourse is anything that carries meaning and this includes

language, pictures, folklore stories or even marriage ceremonies. If we are to consider music discourse using the Foucauldian view of discourse, song lyrics constitute some form of discourse. While song messages entertain, they also have meaning to the targeted audience.

According to the Foucauldian view, discourses discursively construct reality that becomes a society or a cultural group's reality. The discourses are dynamic as they respond to cultural changes. Foucault further argues that while culture shapes discourse it is also shaped by the discourse. These discourses, which may be in the form of songs, transmit circulating power relations as interpreted by those who produce the discourse. Thus, discourses that manifest in society are a reflection of how institutions such as the medical, the judicial qualitative and religious communities exercise power. This suggests that discourses represent the views of the powerful in society. Understood thus, discourses reflect the vigilance of the powerful groups seeking to maintain their hold on power. However, Foucault observes that the exercise of power through discourse is not immune to challenge as resistant discourses arise which is empowering for different groups of people. According to this view, therefore, discourses such music discourse can be used to reinforce or challenge the hegemonic dominant views of the powerful.

Foucault also argues that discourse constructs all forms of knowledge through discursive practices (Gatens, 1970). According to him there is nothing like absolute truth but a regime of truth consistent with a particular period. Gatens (1996:70) exemplifies this by referring to the view of one sex that was held as the basic truth during the period before 1800 where one sex was considered to be the basic truth. New truths and discourses have since overtaken this view showing the dynamism of gender identities. Thus, music discourse may be used to inculcate gender notions that reflect views of a given culture at any given time. This postmodern view recognises the mediation role of discourse and that this mediation role may reflect ideological

underpinnings. Foucault acknowledges the dynamism of discourse as due to context and time. These views find relevance in this thesis whose objectives include revealing how metaphors are used to communicate gender positions at different points in the Zimbabwean experience.

Michael Foucault's view of gender may be used to explain how people become gendered. His view that identity is inscribed in people's bodies and the bodies produced through identity categories resonates with Butler's (1990) view that gender resides in people and society constructs gender categories. Foucault's view of gender, however, falls short as not all people conform to the hetero-normative view of gender. The theory, however, acknowledges that the exercise of power is not unidirectional making it possible for discourses to be subverted and resisted.

#### **3.7.4 Judith Butler views on discourse and gender**

Butler (1990) approaches discourse analysis from constructionist and feminist perspectives. She argues that the individual does not choose which gender to adopt but society has a script ready for an individual to adopt that gender "there is no sex that is always gender" (Butler cited in Salih, 2002). Butler further argues that gender is not something one is but one does, an act... According to this view, gender does not pre-exist but is something that is acquired through socialisation. To buttress the view Butler argues that gender actually starts at birth when doctors or midwives declare this is a boy or girl (Butler, 1990). Butler further elaborates that there is no gender behind the expressions of gender but the identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results. In her view, language and discourse "do" gender. According to Butler's views gender is constructed through language and discourse, thus making gender performance possible through language and doing gender being how someone behaves and not the physical being.

Pursuant to the fact that gender is performed, enacted and constructed through language/discourse, Butler argues that analysis of gender should extend beyond constructionist explanations to embrace the notion of performativity. In Butler's (1990: 25) view, discourse analysts should not confine themselves to analysing how gender is enacted in texts but should also analyze its performance in texts. She further imputes that gender views and identities develop over time when acceptable behaviour gets repeated to become the norm of what is expected in situations as governed by society and the culture. In addition to that, Butler notes that because gender is performed within a society and culture, an individual's gender identity and performativity are regulated by that society and culture according to what is considered as being the norm. As a result, becoming gendered is, therefore, acquiring the acceptable traits as demanded by society's expectations. To emphasise the importance of gender performativity, Butler refers to sexuality, which she asserts, is signified by a man and a woman union, and being considered the norm, exemplifies of how gender is idealised through copying what society prescribes.

Butler (1990) further observes that there are also power dynamics that are associated with the concept of gender. She asserts that there is an aspect of power attached to gender roles and those with power are always fighting to sustain the heterosexuality ideal, which is naturalised and defended all the time. Any alternative view is castigated or heavily sanctioned as not normal. She argues that while heterosexuality claims naturalness and originality through discourse, it is constantly under threat and its dominant views need to defend the space. Butler admits that it is possible for language to be used to subvert hegemonic dominancy but cautions that it is not easy and automatic. It can be inferred therefore that discourses of all kinds manifest contestations of ideologies and music. Butler firmly argues that this site is an instantiation of

heterosexuality ideas constructed and defended through language. It can be extrapolated that heterosexuality ideas do not have a free reign because there are counter discourses that challenge or deconstruct it.

Butler (1990) also asserts that discourse produces subject positions for one to occupy and linguistic structures construct the self. She argues that some of these structures or discourses are bodily and non-verbal. Language and discourse 'do' gender as repeated use of language have the effect of constructing gender identity. However, she notes that these gender views are not static, but dynamic and created within the matrix of gender relations. Thus, one attains identity through experiencing gender in social contexts, as there is no self-preceding gender or outside self (Butler, 1990). In light of Butler's observations, music discourse can be assumed to be an arena in which power dynamics may play out through metaphorical language.

While Butler's (1990) views are valued for their contribution to understanding how gender roles are manifested in society, it downplays the other ways by which gender is constructed. There are also other sites in which gender may be played out or enacted that include how one speaks, writes and ambitions in life. Gender is also evident in writing, speech, intonation, music, aspirations, expectations and realisations of goals all of which are in fact influenced by institutional differences of gender, power and culture. Butler (1990:31-32) however, acknowledges that gender is manifested in different social contexts.

It would seem, therefore, that an analysis of gendered metaphors in Shona songs offers an alternative site of understanding how gender is constructed in a non-Western context. On its own, such an analysis does not claim to give a wholesome picture of the Shona people's concept of gender. It, however, enables the analyst to gain an insight into the way different

gender roles are constructed, reinforced and challenged through music discourse. It should, however, be acknowledged that gender plays out in other dimensions such as political participation, power or spatiality of gender.

Adding voice to Butler (1990) and Foucault (1980) is the discursive psychologist view that Gender identity is not permanent, but dynamic, remade, and reconstructed. The discursive psychology's major assumption is that phenomena are carried in and passed on, using discourse (Edward and Potter, 1992). The proponents cite three constituents of discursive psychology as action, construction, and rhetoric. Speaking and writing, according to Edwards and Potter, entails that it is one way through which gender is performed and analysing discourse should reveal the importance of these actions. The discursive psychology view has relevance since it seeks to understand how discourse constructs different views on gender and for what purpose. Following the discursive psychology argument, this study seeks to lay bare the discursive metaphorical construction of gender in Shona songs. The rhetorical use of metaphors, which this thesis aims to expose, broadens the understanding of gendered values, perceptions and attitudes of the Shona people.

Butler's (1990) views, though largely Western, are relevant to this thesis as they provide deep insights into the concept gender, especially the fact that it is socially constructed and culture plays a significant role in its construction. Butler's theory also explains why different notions of gender exist at any given time and how power politics is constituted in the discourse of gender. However, since Butler's assertions on gender are based on Western contexts and largely Western value-laden it is necessary to explore how gender is conceptualised in other contexts.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

The chapter presented the Critical Metaphor Analysis as the key theoretical framework that guides the analysis of gendered metaphors in this thesis. The chapter began by briefly exploring the historical foundations of metaphor extrapolating how it has been understood from since Aristotle's time to the present. The meaning of metaphor has evolved from an ornamental meaning and a tool for persuasion to its recent link to cognition and pragmatics. The contemporary view, which this thesis adopts, is that the way metaphor is mapped and process affects how people think and it can be used discursively in discourse to project particular views.

The chapter also presented Charteris-Black's (2004) theoretical framework highlighting its key tenets. It is noted that the Conceptual Metaphor Analysis framework is anchored in critical linguistics and cognitive linguistics and the theory is primarily a metaphor analysis framework in contexts where metaphor is utilised for rhetorical purposes. As a discourse analysis framework, the theory has been used to expose ideological purposes for which metaphor is deployed to do in discourse. The CMA theory adopts the view that metaphor is not just ornamental but also cognitive, pragmatic and ideological, making it a relevant theory to analyse discursive use of discourse in institutionalised areas such politics and music where discourse among other things informs as well as persuades audiences to adopt or reject certain perspectives on issues such as gender notions. The theory offers an eclectic framework for analyzing gendered metaphors in Shona song lyrics.

The chapter has also explored the concept of gender as an overarching concept in the thesis. Gender is viewed as a constructed concept that resides in people's memory, which is learned in context and may not carry universal meaning necessitating its study in context. Lazar, Butler

and Foucault's ideas on gender were also briefly explored to offer a broad understanding of the gendering and gendered nature of discourse. Despite that, these theories are based on Western studies and hence project westernised gender perspective, they form the basis for understanding how discourse and its attendant power dynamics is gendering and gendered. The next chapter presents the methodology for the study.



## **CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the methodology of the study. The chapter first explores the philosophical assumptions guiding the selected methodological approach. It then presents the research design, description of the corpus, data sampling of the study and its justification, data collection and method of analysis.

### **4.2 Research design**

The research adopts a qualitative research design using Critical Metaphor Analysis as the main method of analysis. Unlike the quantitative research design which seeks to answer how, how often and how many, “qualitative research captures the more nuanced, subjective, and less quantifiable aspects that influence people” (Patton, 2002: 34). In discourse analysis studies, these may be such factors as perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes that motivate the use of language. Critical Metaphor Analysis is a modified Critical Discourse Analysis theory and method that combines cognitive, critical linguistics and pragmatics theoretical assumptions. In this study, the analysis does not only seek to identify metaphors used to sing about gender in Shona songs but to also determine how the musicians map and the discursively use metaphors in their lyrics to construct or deconstruct gender concepts, values, perceptions and the contemporary debates of gender surrounding their use. In addition, the analysis seeks to expose gender ideologies imbued in the gendered metaphors. The qualitative research design was considered appropriate since the study seeks to understand how musicians singing in Shona not only use metaphors to influence their audience views on gender but also project perceptions of gender from the larger society.

### **4.3 Definitions and theoretical assumptions of discourse and discourse analysis**

The methodology chosen for this study falls within discourse analysis. The specific methodology chosen is Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) which in essence is a modified Critical Discourse Analysis approach to the study of language in context. The approach is used as both a discourse analysis framework and a method of discourse analysis. On the other hand, broadly, discourse analysis refers to various approaches that are used to analyse how language is used in different contexts to achieve different purposes (Jorgensen and Phillip, 2002). The consequence of diversified contexts in which discourse analysis is applied makes the term discourse assume a variety of definitions. However, what is clear from the various definitions is that discourse analysis is applied as both a method and framework. This makes theory and method intertwined.

#### **4.3.1 Discourse**

The word discourse attracts numerous definitions depending on the discipline of the analyst (Grant et. al, 2005). Fairclough (cited in Nielson and Norreklit, 2000) views discourse as a social practice, which serves such purposes as creating identities, how people should relate and production of knowledge. Discourse reflects how ideas, the various identities and meanings are produced within the discourse. Thus, Fairclough 1995 (cited in Nielson and Norreklit, 2000) views the language of discourse as a two-way mirror; it both reflects and contributes to the social world, its knowledge systems and its social relationships. Such an understanding of discourse, therefore, puts music discourse in a critical role of also reflecting societal views on such issues as gender, thus, contributing to the perspectives the society holds on men and women roles. Discourse, in this instance, would also reflect gender notions that are reflective of the context. As Jorgenson and Phillip (2002: 9) assert, discourse is related to its context of use, present and past discourses which all need to be considered in order to have comprehensive

analysis and understanding. Discourse, therefore, is viewed as having different meanings attached to it depending on the social context, the participants and discourse community that may have its tradition and conventions. Given these varied contexts in which discourses operate, discourses can be expected to reflect these contexts, perceptions and the ideology or ideologies that drive the discourses.

Discourse analysis which (both a framework and a method) is a qualitative research technique. Depending on the discipline and area of focus, various discourse analysis methods have been generated following various authorities (Norman Fairclough, Michael Foucault, Gunther Kress, van Dijk, Alice Deignan, Judith Butler, Jonathan Charteris-Black and so on). This study utilises Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis to analyse metaphors in Shona song lyrical texts that represent feminine and masculine roles, values, identities and relations through describing, interpreting and evaluating them.

The next section examines the discourse analysis concept and its underlying assumptions before presenting Critical Metaphor Analysis as a method. The section first explores the definition of discourse and how it is understood in this study. First, the more basic definition is given and then how it is understood in discourse studies.

#### **4.3.2 Discourse Analysis**

Discourse attracts various definitions. The simple definition given is by Collins online dictionary (<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/>) which states that “discourse is natural spoken or written language in context”. This definition’s weakness, however, is that it does not say anything about its various purposes. This contrast with how analysts view language, which they claim, is dynamic, contextual, and creative and a tool for creating a reality that can only be

attributable to an individual. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:1) view discourse analysis (DA) as an exercise that analyses patterns of language that people follow when they take part in different domains of life such as, politics, medicine or music. Some linguists go on to emphasise that DA entails analysis of language in use beyond the sentence in order to show and describe the relationships within the sentences or text (Schiffrin, 1994; Drid, 2015). A different view of what constitutes discourse is proffered by Brown and Yule (1983) who argue that discourse analysis is broader than linguistic description of texts as it analyses language in use. It can be inferred therefore, that DA is an activity that involves scrutinising texts to establish how the texts make meaning and for what purpose.

While discourse analysis is practised in different disciplines, several philosophical assumptions cut across analysis methods Burr 1995 (cited in Jorgensen and Phillip, 2002:16). These include that one, its critical approach and its aim to expose the hidden intentions in texts. According to this view, knowledge of the world is not absolute. What people normally consider as reality is in fact mediated and it is people who give meaning to reality. People's knowledge about the world is based on our history and culture (Burr cited in Jorgensen and Phillip 2002:16). Discourse analysis, therefore, refers to analysis of texts to expose how the text producers use language to legitimise power of the dominant groups in society, inequality and bias with the ultimate aims of exposing how those with power use discourse to mediate reality in ways that advantage them (van Dijk, 2009; Fairclough, 2000; Charteris-Black, 2004).

The discourse analysis approach to text analysis is contrary to the essentialist view that sees the social world as pre-given and determined by the external conditions. The social constructionist view on which most discourse analysis is anchored sees the world as socially and discursively constructed. The view, however, is criticised for suggesting that everything in

society is evolving and there are no checks and balances to constrain the change (Jorgensen and Phillip, 2002). Theorists working in the constructionist paradigm dismiss the essentialist view and posit that if anything the social field is, "... much more rule-bound and regulative", Jorgensen and Phillip (2002:17). To drive home this point, Jorgensen and Phillip argue that an individual's identity and utterances are controlled by the circumstances of the situation. This implies that discourse meanings and identities are products of contexts. I, however, agree with the view that despite hegemonic perspectives on such issues as gender, discourse cannot stay pure in the face of challenges imposed by a change of context. It is quite interesting to find out how restrictions are reinforced, resisted or negotiated through music discourse. An analysis of metaphors that represent the feminine and masculine gender identities and relations, therefore, provides a context in which gender plays out in music discourse.

Another critical view ingrained in the discourse analysis framework is how analysts conceptualise language. Linguists working in the area of discourse analysis view language as creating representations of reality that are never mere reflections of pre-existing reality but contribute to constructing reality (Jorgensen and Philip, 2002). Thus, language is used to create reality for us, by giving meaning to physical objects. This would imply that reality gains meaning through discourse. Discourse, therefore, gives diversity in meaning of a single reality. Depending on one's ideological position, for instance, an armed group fighting to remove a sitting government can be described as terrorist by government sympathisers or freedom fighters by others depending on an ideological position of the language user. Thus, how discourse constructs, reinforces, negotiates and resists gender notions and values for instance, has a bearing on change in the world (Van Dijk, 2009; Fairclough, 1995a, Charteris-Black, 2004).

#### **4.4 Critical Metaphor Analysis as a method**

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) is a discourse method of analysis that takes a rhetorical approach to metaphor analysis in discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004). CMA combines critical linguistics, cognitive linguistics and pragmatics in its analysis. The framework is used, in this study, to expose how metaphor is vested in its construction or deconstruction of gender to reinforce or dismantle particular gender perspectives. CMA like other discourse analysis method provides an “explanatory critique” (Fairclough, 2000:235-236) of metaphors: how and to what these are vested in order to understand their effects and resistance to that investment. In addition, CMA “explores the links between language use and socio-cultural practice” and thus, the existing values and attitudes and how they are expressed (Phillips and Jorgensen (2002: 69). Given the assumption of the vestedness of language in discourse analysis, CMA is ideally suited to the study of music discourse to expose the vestedness of the discursive formations in metaphors that musicians use. Critical Metaphor Analysis, which is a modified Critical Discourse Analysis framework, was considered appropriate because of its eclectic approach (combines critical linguistics, CDA and pragmatics) to metaphor analysis. It is also a method of analysis specifically dedicated to metaphor analysis in discourse. In addition, the approach like other Critical Discourse Analysis methods it takes a political commitment to lay bare ideological machinations of discourse, in this case, metaphor, in order to expose hidden agendas underlying discourse use (Charteris-Black, 2004).

#### **4.5 Description of the corpus**

The data used comprised Shona Popular music songs released between 1988 and 2018. Popular music is that music that needs no elaborate processes in its composition. It is music that has a wide audience and following and is played everywhere, at weddings, parties, in communitor ominbuses and taxis. The music has a wider appeal so its messages are likely to impact people’s

perceptions and ideas about issues in society. The data included music lyrics of songs from Zimbabwean musicians that include the late Oliver Mtukudzi, the late Paul Matavire, Pamhidzai Mbirimi (Pachihera), Edith weUtonga, Prince Musarurwa, Prudence Katomeni, the late Simon Chimbetu, Leonard Zhakata, Steve Makoni and the late Marshal Munhumumwe. These musicians represent a broad spectrum of Zimbabwean popular music that includes genres such as a mixture of Jiti and Mbaqanga, Sungura, Zim Dance hall, Urban Grooves and Jazz. Such music genres represent music that appeals to the young and the old. Shona musicians' messages cover a variety of social issues that include love, marriage, betrayal, socialisation, economic and political commentaries.

#### **4.6 Data sampling, gathering and analysis**

Data were gathered through a combination of textual analysis and structured interviews. Textual Analysis was used to identify metaphors and recurrent themes. Expert interviews were utilised to confirm and complement the initial analysis of the songs. The songs making up the corpus of this study were sourced from YouTube because there is ready accessibility. As Heppner and Heppner (2003) observe, data drawn from actual material already in use in the public domain increases credibility, transferability and dependability as it can still be retrieved. The study used purposive sampling to identify the songs used that make up the sample used in the study. Purposive sampling is necessary where data needs to be identified first and there are resource challenges (Patton, 2002). In discourse studies, this entails identifying a corpus thematic rich data on an aspect under such as music about men and women. A sample in qualitative research is intended to achieve an in-depth understanding of phenomena. This ensures that data should be exhaustive enough to cover themes up to saturation levels. Qualitative research places primary emphasis on saturation (that is, ensuring that the knowledge gained is representative of the population from which the sample was drawn). In

line with that, the songs chosen for the samples are largely sung in Shona, by male or female musicians, and that the musicians use metaphor in the songs to represent the feminine and masculine gender and relations.

The sample was selected from the lyrics that are in Shona, of popular music genres and which spoke about men and women, boys and girls. Such criteria were meant to reduce subjectivity which purposive sampling is accused of. Representativeness of the sample was not considered an issue since the aim is not to achieve generalisations required in quantitative research. Instead, the analysis should provide in-depth understanding of how musicians singing in Shona persuasively use gendered metaphors to construct gender perspectives to fulfill certain agendas. It was not possible for the researcher to know the songs in advance, so sampling involved listening to many songs of target musicians, identifying the subjects and themes in the songs, listening again to the songs to identify the metaphors and themes until saturation levels were reached, transcribing and translating (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In this case, the complete and final sample only emerged when a saturation level was reached.

The sampling process involved playing and listening to the songs and then transcribing them. The selection of songs was based on lyrical content, that is, messages that speak about men and women, boys and girls. Such songs were assumed to be a locus of constant construction, deconstruction, contestation of gender notions and power, with those who benefit advocating for the situation to remain as it is and others demanding change. The selection covers lyrics of songs sung between 1988 and 2018. The justification was that this period would provide enough data since music covers a wide range of topics making a shorter period difficult to get enough of the required data. In terms of representativeness according to the popular music genre of Zimbabwe, the researcher focused on its sub-genre, which includes Sungura, Tuku



music, Jazz, Urban Grooves and Zim-dance hall. The criterion used for its selection was its spread appeal to both the young and the old (Masau, 2014). It is assumed that the chosen period and genres provide enough spread that exposes the dynamism of gender perspectives and values.

A sample of thirty songs identified purposefully using the gender theme initially and then metaphor content was used. These were considered enough to analyze how selected Zimbabwean musicians use gendered metaphors in Shona songs to project gender perceptions and positions and the ideology underlying the choice of the metaphor. Metaphor mapping and deployment in discourse is not neutral since it arises from particular objectives of the language user (Charteris-Black, 2004). Once a song had been considered suitable for analysis, it was transcribed and translated into English. This was done so that time would not be wasted listening or transcribing lyrics songs that would be considered thematically irrelevant or devoid of metaphor. The next stage involved identifying the metaphors in the songs and then subjecting them to Critical Metaphor Analysis. The next section explains how the metaphors were identified.

#### **4.7 Metaphor identification and analysis methods**

Research indicates that metaphor identification is not an easy exercise (Musolff 2004, Steen 2006). Discourse analysts working in the area of metaphor research have suggested a number of approaches. Musolff (2004) refers to some approaches that have suggested using signalling devices in texts. According to Musolff (2004), signalling devices are one of the many methods that have been suggested. Generally, linguists expressed dissatisfaction with the methods on the grounds that they were not efficient, systematic and reliable (Musolff, 2004; Steen, 2007). Musolff (2004) also singles out databases which he criticises for not offering an exhaustive

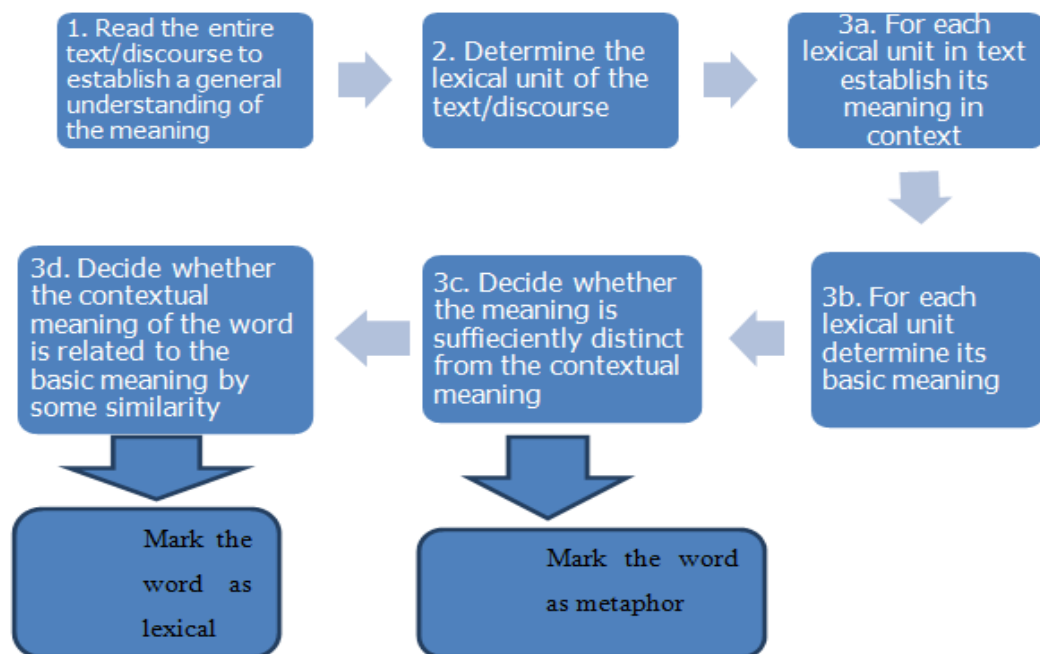
alternative solution either as they are blind to finding non-metaphorical expressions. Random internet searches, which this research could not utilise, because of their unavailability for the type of data in English, are also considered as unsuitable for the type of analysis and the expected nature of results (Musolff, 2004:66; Deignan, 2005; Cameron and Low, 1999). Musolff (2004) advocates for some small specialist corpora in identifying metaphors as it minimises the amount of information that the researcher has to go through making it heuristically most effect.

Due to controversy on the best practice methods of identifying metaphors in discourse, discourse analysts focusing on metaphors in their research suggest ways of going about identifying metaphors that attempt to address the weaknesses of earlier methods (Charteris-Black, 2004; Steen 2007; Pragglejaz Group, 2007). These methods are all designed to provide means of identifying metaphors that are systematic thus improving reliability and replicability of the study. Corpus methods could not be used because the data has to be transcribed and translated first. Current methods of metaphor identification include Metaphor Identification and Analysis Methods propagated by Steen MIPVU's (2007), Pragglejaz Group (2007) and Charteris-Black (2004). The study utilises three approaches to complement inherent weaknesses in the approaches. The Pragglejaz Group (2007) metaphor identification is included for its strengths of linguistic metaphor identification and Steen's (2007) method for identifying conceptual metaphors. On the other hand, Charteris-Black's (2004) method strength lies in how linguistic metaphors are extrapolated to derive conceptual metaphors and their strategic use of the metaphors in context.

#### 4.7.1 Steen's (2007) metaphor identification method (MIPVU)

Gerald Steen and five research assistants at VU University of Amsterdam (Steen 2007) developed the MIPVU method. Its strength lies in the fact that it identifies both the linguistic metaphor and the conceptual metaphor. The method has been also applied to English and Dutch languages.

MIP identifies metaphors using a five-step procedure. While the Pragglejaz Group (2007) method identifies indirectly stated metaphors, for instance, “my love is a rose”, the MIPVU adds details to the procedural protocol as it identifies other forms of metaphors involving conceptual metaphor with directly used language, “my love is like a rose”. The method involves the following five steps as illustrated in Figure 2.



**Figure 2: MIPUV (Nacey, 2009)**

As illustrated in Figure 2, Steen (2007) offers a systematic and explicit way of identifying metaphors that is traceable rather than intuitive. The researcher is forced to make clear

decisions that can be explained if need be. This enhances the validity and replicability of the method. The approach offers steps that are transparent, especially on the identification of linguistic metaphors. In this way, researchers are able to show areas of disagreement, thus addressing replicability (Krennmayr, 2011). However, the method falls short in telling us how the analyst arrives at conceptual metaphors. This makes the method effective for the identification of linguistic metaphors leaving the identification of conceptual metaphors still intuitive (Krennmayr, 2011).

#### **4.7.2 The Pragglejaz group's (2007) metaphor identification method**

The Pragglejaz Group (2007:1) offers what they claim to be, "...an explicit method that can be reliably employed to identify metaphorically used words in discourse." The purpose of the method is to establish whether a word or phrase in a text has been used metaphorically or not. According to Steen (2007), the method addresses the issue of reliability noted in traditional methods in use.

The method involves four steps. The initial step of the method is for the analyst to apprise himself or herself with the text. This involves reading the text to get an overview of the subject. This is part of qualitative analysis in context as a metaphor is considered in relation to the larger context. The second step involves marking the boundary of words. The next two steps involve semantic and lexical analysis. In these two steps, the analyst determines the literal meaning versus the contextual meaning. The last step involves marking a word as metaphorical if it satisfies the criteria. A word or phrase is considered metaphorical if it carries meaning that is not literal in context and makes some comparison.

The Pragglejaz Group (2007) explains that their method is intended to provide steps that show where disagreement occurs when evaluating whether a word has been used metaphorically or not, and how a word or phrase assumes a different meaning from the literal one in context. If the researcher is dealing with electronic corpora the Pragglejaz Group (ibid) advises that the researcher gives as much additional information on text and context as possible, for instance, the number of words, genre, and readership.

#### **4.7.3 Charteris-Black's (2004) metaphor identification method**

The Critical Metaphor Analysis theory proposes a three-stage metaphor analysis method. First, the analyst reads the text noting words and phrases that may have been used metaphorically (Charteris-Black, 2004). At this stage, words commonly used with a metaphorical sense and classified as metaphorical keywords can be quantified. Using the context, the researcher evaluates the use of the identified words or phrases to establish whether they have a literal or metaphorical meaning. This is followed by establishing how the metaphors are cognitively linked and their strategic use in the text (Charteris-Black, 2004). Charteris Black (2004)'s method is simple and easy to follow. However, the method has been criticised for being largely deductive and relying on researcher intuition (Kreynnmayr, 2011). Despite these weaknesses, Charteris-Black's method is considered a well-delineated method that shows how dominant metaphors can be used to explain the ideological function of their use in discourse and subsequent generalisation of thought patterns that could construct or constrain people's beliefs and actions (Kreynnmayr, 2011). This element was considered important since the study also sought to establish how the underlying concepts reflected by linguistic metaphors reinforce or challenge gender perspectives in Shona songs.

The study adopted the three methods to identify and analyse the gendered metaphors in selected songs. Using the three methods was considered to be appropriate as the approaches complement each other. It was considered that this would provide a systematic way of identifying the metaphors using intuition.

#### **4.8 Structured interviews**

To complement Critical Metaphor Analysis, the researcher utilised structured interviews as a tool to gather human-related information. Interviews are widely used qualitative techniques to gather data in research. An interview allows the researcher to understand the world of the interviewee (Babie, 2012). When used with textual analysis interviews enhance the validity of a research endeavour. Structured interviews are those interviews where the interview has preconstructed questions that are asked to each interview and the responses recorded and coded (Babbie, 2012; Paton, 2014). The study adopted structured interviews as a tool because it allows participants in the sample to be asked the same questions which they respond to respond conversationally. The interviews also allowed the researcher to gain a better understanding of what Critical Metaphor Analysis of the data initially yielded which included how metaphor discursive strategies constructed gender in the Shona songs and the human aspects motivating their choice and intentions.

##### **4.8.1 Description of the interviewees**

The interviewees comprised people with expertise in the area of music and language. Initially, seven experts were contacted but five consented to the interviews while the other two cited busy work schedules. The researcher ended up interviewing the five that consented to the interviews. Three of the interviewees are males and two females. For purposes of anonymity, numbers one to five are used to refer to the interviewees. **Interviewees One** and **Two** are

females. At the time of the research **Interviewee One** was a lecturer who specialising in music studies in an African Languages Department at a Zimbabwean university. She was forty-nine years old and had done a doctoral study on African music in Zimbabwe. **Interviewee Two** was teaching music at a private school in Zimbabwe. At the time of the interview, she was forty-six years old. **Interviewee Three** was a university professor and music part-time critique. He had written articles on music in Zimbabwe. **Interviewee Four** was a language lecturer, writer and poet, writing in Shona and English. At the time of the interviews, he was forty-seven years old and had written three papers on Zimbabwe popular music. **Interviewee Five** is a music teacher, part-time music producer and musician. At the time of the interview, he was sixty –two years old and headmaster at a primary school.

#### **4.8.2 Ethical considerations**

The Ethical Committee of the University of South Africa approved the study. The data used for the study are already in the public domain. To ensure that the translations of the lyrics were as accurate as possible the services of expert translators were sought. The lyrics were properly referenced to give credit to the artists. In accordance with ethical practices interviewer first sought permission from each interviewee and agreed on a convenient time and place for the interview (Bryman, 2012). This was done verbally rather than in written form due to time considerations. Interviewees were informed of the purpose of the interview, its scope and its voluntary nature. Their permission to record was sought and confidentially explained. The interviewees signed consent forms and were reassured of confidentiality, their anonymity in the study and that their right to withdraw at any given time would be upheld by the researcher should they so wish. In keeping with anonymity and confidentiality, the location of the interviews and the actual names were not used anywhere in the report.

#### **4.9 Transcription and translation of the Shona songs.**

Having identified metaphors in song texts using the Pragglejaz Group (2007), Steen (2007) and Charteris-Black (2004) metaphor identification methods, transcribed, translated to English and categorized according to themes the metaphors were then described, interpreted and analysed. It should be noted that translation and interpretation is rather an act involving “the imperfect mediation of cultures” (Bujra, 2006), therefore to balance between making the wider audience understand and retaining the Shona meaning of the metaphors, the translation of the song lyrics isolated for analysis was made to approximate the English meaning of the song. The English equivalent version is presented first and then the literal and metaphorical meanings are presented as they are analysed. To make sure that the correct meaning is derived from the metaphor interpretation and analysis is carried out within the context of the song. As a result, metaphors could not be isolated and analysed as themes that for instance, described domestic gender violence but as part of a song. A brief description of the song theme is given to contextualise the metaphors. Lyrics that contain metaphors are identified and numbered maintaining their sequence. Not all lyrics of a song are presented.

##### **4.9.1 Analysis Procedure**

Following Critical Metaphor Analysis process of the analysis included description, explanation and interpretation of the gendered metaphors, determining and explaining how they construct gender, linking them to underlying conceptual metaphors and the gender ideology they represented and projected, noting whether the metaphors perpetuated or challenged hegemonic masculinities and or negotiated new gender understanding and realities. To do the analysis, the researcher also drew from his knowledge of the Shona language. The analysis also took into account Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis drawing from Lazar (2007), Butler (1990) and Foucault (1983)’s notions of language, power and gender. It was then followed by interviews,



which were transcribed and coded, the researcher then revisited the textual analysis armed with data gathered from the structured interviews. This involved incorporating the data from the interviews in the final Critical Metaphor Analysis of the texts.

#### **4.10 Conclusion**

The chapter presented the qualitative design as the research design of the thesis. Reasons for the choice were also proffered. The sampling method used to gather data was also highlighted and justified. This was followed by a brief description of the sample of data used. The chapter also presented the metaphor identification methods used and the reasons for their choice given. Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004) was highlighted as the method used to analyse the gendered metaphors. Its adoption was also justified. The corpus comprised Shona popular song lyrics talking about men and women, sung by musicians singing in Shona. The songs were sourced from YouTube, purposively sampled, transcribed and then translated into English. Songs sung between 1988 and 2018 made up the sample. Three metaphor identification methods were also presented. These are; Steen's (2007) MPVU, Pragglez group (2007) and Charteris-Black (2004). Each of these methods is briefly outlined, strengths and weaknesses highlighted. These are used in combination to strengthen the analysis. The data was then subjected to discourse analysis using Charteris Black's Critical Metaphor Analysis method. Contextual issues were considered in the analysis. The next chapter presents the data, interpretation and analysis

## **CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The chapter starts by presenting an overview of the aims, objectives and research questions in order to put data presentation, interpretation and analysis into perspective. This is followed by a brief explanation of how the data are organised to facilitate an orderly presentation and analysis. Data are then presented, explained, and analysed using identified themes. A conclusion is then drawn and presented. Lastly, recommendations are presented.

### **5.2 Overview of aims, objectives, and questions of the study**

To put the data presentation and analysis into perspective, it is worth highlighting briefly the aim and research questions for the study. The study was focused on how musicians in the selected songs employ gendered metaphors to construct, contest and negotiate gender perspectives and identities in the Shona society in Zimbabwe. This concurs with Charteris-Black (2004) who observes that metaphors play an emotive function in discourse and are used to persuade people to accept preferred viewpoints. By extension also the research aims to examine how these metaphors enact power and communicate contemporary gender debates, ideology or ideologies and the gender experiences of the Shona people. To achieve this, the study focuses on the following objectives and questions: Expose how gender is embodied through metaphor in Shona lyrical discourse. Examine how gendered metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse influence the Shona views on gender. Explain the nexus between gender debates, Shona cultural beliefs, values and norms and the gendered metaphors. Establish how metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse enact gendered power relations. Create awareness of the role served by gendered metaphors and gendered ideology in Shona music discourse. How is gender embodied through metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse? How do gendered metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse influence the Shona speaker's views on gender? What is the nexus

between gender debates, Shona cultural beliefs, values and norms and the gendered metaphors? How do metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse enact gendered power relations? What role is served by gendered metaphors and gendered ideologies in popular Shona music discourse? These objectives and questions guide the analysis.

### **5.3 Overview of data organisation, presentation, and analysis**

To achieve the aims, objectives and answer the questions metaphors were first identified and then categorised using various themes. It should be pointed out that putting the data into categories was not an easy exercise as some of the metaphors overlapped themes. The themes through which the metaphors are presented and analysed include love and marriage, disease, domestic violence, the decay of morals and inheritance issues. These were considered to be the major issues around which the metaphors are mapped. The identified metaphors are interpreted and analysed using the researcher's knowledge of the Shona language and the Critical Metaphor Analysis framework. When the metaphors are subjected to Critical Metaphor Analysis aspects such as how the metaphors are mapped, their pragmatic and ideological functions are considered (Charteris-Black, 2005; Deignan, 2005; Koller, 2010). The analysis also considers the context in which these metaphors are used in order to infer the contemporary Shona society gender debates and cultural values therein. The social role of the gendered metaphors is also considered. It should be noted, however, that the research does not claim that metaphors represent all the linguistic aspects that speak about gender in music (see Deignan 2005 on discourse studies using limited linguistic evidence to over generalise) but represent aspects of language that discursively construct, deconstruct or reinforce gender stereotypes.

### **5.3.1 Gendered metaphors in songs that focus on love and marriage relationships**

This section explores metaphors that are gendered and gendering (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004). These metaphors have gender views ingrained in them or have the effect of constructing and emphasising the differences between men and women to either construct or deconstruct gender perspectives usually for the benefit of men. However, the same metaphors can be used to subvert such masculinity dominance. To do this, the section focuses on metaphors used in love and marriage songs from Marshall Munhumumwe, Paul Matavire, Simon Chimbetu, and Rumbidzai Mbirimi.

Love and marriage relationships between men and women represent sites that project contestations of gender perspectives and enactment of power. Being an institution that brings to the fore, men and women relationships marriage is a critical language site where gender issues play out. Thus, love and marriage relations are a subject of exposition and discussion through metaphors in the selected Shona musicians' lyrics. The metaphors in the lyrics highlight and comment on the Shona views of love and spousal relationships in courtship and marriage union. Considering the privileged role of musicians, the selection, construction and use of these metaphors can be unconscious or a deliberate effort, driven by the message that these musicians have decided to deliver to the public (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Koller and Semino, 2009; Charteris-Black, 2004). However, as they project these views, they are not immune to the contemporary and even traditionally held views about gender, whether at an individual or collective level (Nhlekisana, 2013; Ellece, 2013).

This section presents gendered metaphors used in some selected Shona songs from artists such as Marshall Munhumumwe, Paul Matavire, Oliver Mtukudzi, Steve Makoni, Pamhidzai Mbirimi (Pachihera), Prince Musarurwa, Edith weUtonga and Simon Chimbetu. Songs

presented here deal with love and marriage relationships. Musicians use gendered metaphors to discursively represent cultural and societal preferred gender views. Love views within and outside marriage is captured through the various metaphors used in the songs. As they sing about the emotive subject of love and marriage the musicians inadvertently represent gendered identities and relations within the Shona society. Among other linguistic tools, the selected musicians use metaphors to present, describe, interpret and evaluate for rhetorical purposes how love and marriage are conceptualised through gendered metaphors in the society and are reflective of the individual and collective understanding of gender in the Zimbabwean society. In music, as in other mediums metaphors are not only used to amuse and entertain but to also expose views, provoke emotional reactions and structure foundations for certain narratives (Koller, 2012).

Marshal Munhumumwe in the song, *Rudo Imoto*, “Love Is fire” (1988) the personae in the song gives advice to married women on what they should do to sustain their marriages. The persona highlights women’s roles that he thinks sustains a marriage:

<b>Rudo imoto</b>	<b>Love is fire</b>
1 Rudo imoto runotokuchidzirwa vana amai	Ladies, love is fire, it needs attention
2 Musati zvandarorwa ini handichageza ini	Marriage should not stop you from Bathing
3 Munosiyiwa mumba umu muri mega mhai	You will be deserted
4 Varume ipwere vanotorezva sevana Vacheche	Men are toddlers, they need constant Attention
<i>(Marshall Munhumumwe, 1988)</i>	

Addressing female audiences, Marshall Munhumumwe sings, “*Rudo imoto runotokuchidzirwa ana amai*, “Ladies, Love is fire, it needs rekindling”. Fire is vital in life. It performs multiple or countless functions. The metaphor forces the listener to draw parallels between tending a

fire and sustaining a man's love in marriage. To start a fire and sustain its burning process, several things need to be done and all of them require effort and close attendance by one who is managing the fire. In an African setting, for example, one needs to clean the fireplace, carefully arrange the firewood and continuously drive logs into the fire, and at times blow or fan it to supply more oxygen. Marshall Munhumumwe equates this to love, which he suggests needs continuous attention so as to keep it alive. This yields the conceptual metaphor TO SUSTAIN MARRIAGE AND LOVE, KEEP THE FIRE BURNING. The metaphor could be interpreted to mean that to avoid love burning out, women need to control men's libido when age reduces their own sexual desire. Implicitly suggesting that this could be one of the reasons for men's infidelity. These metaphors, therefore, become very powerful discursive tools, as they derive their power from the fact that they are drawn from the Shona people's everyday experiences, culture and traditions, making listeners easily identify with them. Cognitively, as it, the metaphors set off mental pictures (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), that force forces the audience to view love as a fire, which can die from neglect, requiring ceaseless attention from a woman from an African Shona perspective.

In the same breath, Marshall Munhumumwe alludes to the harmful effects of fire, which may be triggered by the woman when she neglects her wifely duties to the husband such as keeping herself attractive. He cautions married women when he says, *Musati zvamaroorwa hamuchageza*, "marriage should not stop you from bathing". Bathing is not used literally but to refer to the woman's cleanliness during her youth days. To a Shona audience, the meaning of cleanliness is at two levels, that is, physical bathing that refers to washing one's self. In addition, a connotative/metaphorical meaning refers to cleanliness in relation to marriage practices. It also alludes to a woman's hygiene practices during menstruation or cleanliness in relation to a breastfeeding mother, how a woman keeps herself clean before and after sex or

general smartness that relates to not leaving underwear and used sanitary wear where it can be seen by the husband. These images are invoked by reference to a married woman's cleanliness in the minds of the audience. This makes the discursive use of the metaphor "failing to bathe" powerful, as it presents a very compelling case to justify men abandoning or deserting their wives. In the event that a woman fails to rekindle the "fire" that is, keep it burning Marshall warns the woman that she risks being abandoned *Munosiyiwa mumba umu muri mega mhai*, "The man will desert you". Being deserted is not in the literal sense but suggests that this uncleanliness could drive the man away justifiably to seek love from other women.

Love and marriage are conceptualised as having life, "love is fire, it needs rekindling", generating the conceptual metaphor, LOVE IS A FIRE/LIVING THING that needs nurturing to keep it alive. The audience is also made to visualise the consequences of failure to keep the fire burning, the fire dies hence if not rekindled love and marriage meet the same end. Marshall Munhumumwe thus uses the metaphor to persuade the audience to reflect on the traditional women's roles and the Shona people's marriage values. The metaphor also implicates that a woman is expected to be sexually available for the man at all times, which in certain circumstances could mean overriding her own feelings.

Munhumumwe has advice for the married women when he says: *Varume ipwere vanotorezva sevana vacheche* "toddlers" they need to be lulled "like babies." The artist is not talking about men really becoming children or babies but comparing their behaviour to that of children who constantly need attention. Munhumumwe places the prerogative of sustaining a marriage as squarely resting with the female partner. In such circumstances the man's infidelity is excused and the woman is blamed for the breakup of the union. Men are like children, *pwere*, who need to be taken care of. Underlying these linguistic metaphors is that A MARRIED WOMAN IS

AN ASSET since the woman is supposed to serve the man by bearing and looking after children, keeping smart and attractive for the pleasure of the man. The metaphors Marshall Munhumumwe uses in the song “Love is fire” persuasively legitimise unequal relationships that favour men in marriages (Charteris-Black, 2004, Ellece, 2013). Here, Munhumumwe glorifies men’s weaknesses as acceptable if the woman fails to do things that keep the relationship warm and alive. However, the same metaphor that “*men are children*” unconsciously castigates the irresponsible nature of men who behave immaturely like children. This seems to contradict Marshall Munhumumwe’s narrative that women should keep themselves clean for men to remain attracted to them. This exposes the weaknesses in the patriarchal ideology that presents men as superior to women.

While the man in the song *Rudo Imoto* has the power to leave an uncaring woman, the same cannot be said about the woman. A woman’s infidelity is not tolerated as it invokes scorn and derision for the woman in the community and provides justifiable grounds for divorce. On the other hand, a man’s infidelity is blamed on the woman. The woman’s role among others is to aesthetically prepare herself so as to keep the man interested in her. According to Kambarami (2000), the Shona patriarchy prescribes that a woman’s sexuality should be for the benefit of her husband as every teaching on reaching puberty inculcates that understanding. Married women are not only expected to be gentle but also to be submissive and always striving to endear themselves with their husbands. The metaphors foreground the needs of the men and are loudly silent on the woman’s needs of love in the marriage. Men are excused for their “childish” behaviour thus celebrating it as normal. This projects the Shona traditional values of marriage as encouraging women to hold on to the marriage at the expense of their own happiness. Considering the time when this song was released (1988), it can be argued that such conceptualisation of women’s roles still held sway then. However, some of these views are



being challenged with the Beijing Conference of 1995 signifying the recognition of women as men's equals the world over. The Beijing conference drew participants from many countries of the world and has become a metaphor for advocacy of women rights. Marshall Munhumumwe, therefore, implicitly reinforces patriarchal values of love and marriage with metaphors being deployed to construct reality in a way that benefits men (See Koller and Semino, 2009). The woman in the song is denied agency which discourse analysts claim is a rhetorical strategy used to reinforce patriarchy (Atanga et al, 2013). She is silent in the song giving no room for an alternative view. Metaphors in Marshall Munhumumwe's song are used to naturalise what the persona suggests makes marriages work.

In the song *Mbereko yakaramba*, "I failed to conceive", Marshall Munhumumwe sings about a woman who is on the verge of being divorced because she has failed to conceive. The personae in the song chronicles her tribulations as she attempted to seek redress for her situation to save her marriage from collapsing. The song is a conversation between the woman and her husband. The woman thinks that her marriage is over because she has failed to conceive. The husband implores her to return so that they can continue to live together regardless of the challenge of infertility.

<b>Mbereko yakaramba</b>	<b>I failed to conceive</b>
5 ...Pandakarorwa zvakafadza vabereki vangu.	...My marriage excited my parents.
6 ...Ndakaenda kumadhokotera vakati hapana Chakaipa pauri.	..I consulted doctors and they said there was Nothing wrong with me, I could conceive.
7 Ndakenda kwagodobori kunozvitsvaga.	I also went to a traditional doctor to find out Why I was failing to conceive.
8 ...Dzoka mudiwa tigare	...Come back and we live on
<i>(Marshall Munhumumwe, 1998)</i>	

The song's name refers to a "baby carrier" *Mbereko*, which is given human attributes of refusing *yakaramba*, "refused". It carries both literal and metaphorical meanings. The woman

is on the verge of being divorced because she cannot conceive, “The baby carrier refused” *Mbereko yakaramba*. *Mbereko* is a baby carrier and it is here personified as having human attributes of being able to refuse or accept a request. In the Shona culture, a baby carrier symbolises a woman’s fertility and ability to conceive. *Mbereko* “baby carrier” therefore symbolises fertility of a woman. For the Shona people it also literally indicates the existence of a child in a family and metaphorically confirms that the woman is able to conceive. Having one therefore signifies motherhood. For the Shona people marrying off a daughter brings joy and celebrations to the woman’s family, *Pandakaroowa zvakafadza vabereki vangu* “My marriage excited my parents”. Marriage is the ultimate achievement to any person whether female or male and the ability to conceive is highly valued. The audience who may have similar experiences in their own families therefore understands the woman’s plight when she fails to conceive vicariously. The woman speaks of seeking medical attention to find out the cause her of infertility, *Ndakaenda kumadhokotera vakati hapana chakaipa pauri*, “I consulted doctors and they said there was nothing wrong on me, I could conceive”. According to the woman, her consultations did not end with doctors as she also consulted a traditional doctor who declared that, “she would never conceive” *handife ndakabata mwana mumaoko*. Literally, “she would never hold a baby in her arms”.

A “baby carrier” is a Shona metaphor that symbolises a woman’s ability to conceive. As Marshall Munhumumwe puts it, marriage is valued in the Shona society. Men and women are expected to marry when they come of age so that they play their roles in perpetuating the clan (Gelfand, 1987). It is therefore, envisaged that people marry to produce children. This makes a childless marriage unwelcome in the Shona society and brings shame to a woman’s parents even though there are ways of dealing with infertility (Tatira, 2016). The excitement that Marshall Munhumumwe talks about goes beyond the parents being happy to see their daughter

getting married. A daughter's marriage does not only bring joy to the family but relief as well. It enhances the family status in a community because for a woman to attract a man to marry her is an achievement that is linked to good upbringing. "I consulted doctors" is also metaphorical, meaning she sought to find out what her problem was from doctors. This suggests that she thought that she had some medical problems. The doctors confirmed that "I could conceive" *vakati hapana chakaipa pauri* put across literally, "they said there was nothing bad about you", which means, she was capable of conceiving. Through these metaphors, Marshall Munhumumwe presents the Shona people's values regarding marriage. First, Marriage earns respect for the woman as well as her parents for it is testimony of having been brought up well to attract a man to marry her, especially without having a child out of wedlock. The joy multiplies if the woman conceives. To index inequality even when a woman and a man come together to form a marriage union the personae says when she got married and not when she married, which clearly represents the unequal roles. In the Shona culture, like other African cultures, men marry women and not the other way round (Ellece, 2012). Marshall Munhumumwe brings to the fore the value of marriage in the Shona cosmology, the metaphors, *ndakaenda kumadhokotera* I went to doctors, *kana kwagodobori ndakasvika* I even went to see a witch doctor *ndakabva ndaziva imba yangu yaparara* "I realised my marriage had collapsed". Marriage is metaphorically described as "a house" that collapses if the marriage fails to produce a child. This suggests that a childless marriage is not strong, as it cannot withstand the test of time. The audience is thus persuaded to realise procreation is the heartbeat of marriage according to the Shona people, in other words without it, there is no marriage. The man's participation is only heard through the metaphor and lyrics where the man declares that "*Dzoka mudiwa tigare, rudo chete ndirwo rukuru*", "Come back my dear and let us live on, love is what is important". Aware of the ramifications of failing to conceive sends the woman to medical doctors and witch doctors, showing how infertility affects Shona men and women

differently. The woman is more exposed if we consider the Shona arrangements of dealing with infertility in marriages. For the man, it may never be known because a close relative may step in to make a woman conceive if he is infertile, while for the woman bringing a sister or a niece actually publicises her infertility (Tatira, 2016).

Through the cited gendered metaphors, Marshall Munhumumwe persuasively paints a picture of a desperate woman who knows that she would be judged harshly by society for failing to conceive. Through the metaphors, Marshall Munhumumwe exposes the discriminatory Shona cultural marriage values and norms that have different treatment for spouses should infertility befall them. The metaphors suggestively tell us that infertility concerns a woman more than it does a man and having children is highly valued in the Shona society. Such gendered metaphors project the burden of sustaining the relationship in the marriage as principally the duty of the female partner to the marriage. Conceptual metaphors such as MARRIAGE IS WHAT THE WIFE MAKES IT, MARRIAGE IS CHILDREN and a CHILDLESS MARRIAGE EXISTS BECAUSE THE WOMAN IS INFERTILE further emphasise the unequal treatment of women in the Shona society.

Marshall Munhumumwe's gendered metaphors in the song *Mbereko yakaramba*, "I failed to conceive", present a narrative that dominates the Shona society. If a marriage remains childless, usually it is the woman who is blamed most despite that there are cultural mechanisms that are used to address this. If the problem is with the husband, then a *muzukuru* or nephew is culturally made to sleep with the woman in order to save the man's face. The Shona culture also allows a man to take the wife's sister if it has been proved that the woman cannot conceive. However, in the interim, the woman suffers derision and blame. Such constructs and understanding of nature make men appear superior to women as they receive more protection from culture. Such

world views as captured in language can only serve to endorse and naturalise asymmetrical power relations that benefit men. Thus, Marshall Munhumumwe's metaphors in the song *Rudo Imoto*, "Love is fire", assume patriarchal overtones that suggest men's superiority. His metaphors propagate Shona cultural conceptualisation of gender that views men and women differently (see Atanga et. Al., 2012).

The data relating to love and marriage relationships in Marshall Munhumumwe's two songs; *Rudo imoto*. "Love is fire" and *Mbereko yakaramba* "I failed to conceive", show how dynamic gender views are. On one hand, Marshall Munhumumwe bemoans the breakdown of marriages, which he attributes to the abdication of Shona feminine roles in marriage and values. The metaphors project love in the marriage as the burden of a woman who should be alive to the needs of her man. Marshall Munhumumwe conceptualises love as what the woman does to keep the man happy, ignoring that she also has love needs. The man's role in sustaining love is downplayed and excused. If the woman ceases to be as she was before marriage, then she deserves to be abandoned while the man looks elsewhere for emotional satisfaction and love. The failure by men to grow up and show responsibility and care for their marriage partner is sanctified and presented as acceptable behaviour because such is the nature of man to require constant attention from their partners/spouses "like toddlers", "adolescents" or "teenagers" "*pwere*". These metaphors persuasively project men's infidelity as chiefly caused by women who fail to play their roles in marriage. Such presentations bring to the fore, how to love and women are conceptualised in the Shona society. For the woman, love seems to be what she does to keep the man happy ignoring her own emotional needs in the relationship. It is also loyalty at whatever cost to her emotions. The society views the woman in the marriage as the glue that holds it together. What also becomes evident is that gendered metaphors used in song *Rudo imoto* conceptualise women as existing for the gratification of men. In other words,

women are presented as appendages of men, who must satisfy men's sexual desire, suppressing their own emotions and quest for happiness. The song emphatically reinforces the patriarchal view that men are superior to women and women's roles in marriage are aimed at bringing comfort to men. However, in the other song *Mbereko yakaramba*, "I failed to conceive", (sung a decade later in 1998 after *Rudo Imoto* was released in 1988.) Marshall Munhumumwe utilises metaphors to argue for equal treatment of women and men thus challenging asymmetrical power relations in the Shona society. He uses common metaphors to persuasively evaluate values that are discriminatory and dehumanising to women. Even the man in the song agrees; *Dzoka mudiwa dzoka tigare...* "Come back my dear and we live on" to consider love and accept infertility by encouraging the woman not to abandon marriage because of fertility challenges. This presents a new breed of a man who is willing to defy society by not valuing procreation as the reason for the existence of a marriage. The metaphors in the two songs illustrate the dynamicity of gendered views as captured in language confirming Butler's (1990) view that gender is a state of flux, always being challenged, reproduced or reinforced.

Ideologically the songs capture what the Shona culture, to which the musician belongs, expects to be the roles of men and women in a marriage union. Men and women in most Shona society's spheres of life do not hold equal power and positions. The woman is expected to be responsible for sustaining the marriage by keeping the man happy (Gelfand, 1987). In a way, the metaphors serve the purpose of objectifying women projecting them as aesthetic objects to be enjoyed by men (Montashery, 2013). The woman is represented as an object that needs renewal, through "bathing" *kugeza* or making sure the fire keeps burning, *moto unotokuchidzirwa* "fire needs rekindling". The metaphors perpetuate marginalisation of women and persuasively suggest that this is what is normal in a marriage. When men wander and seek the comfort of other women, it is because the woman of the house is neglecting his

wifely duties, that of remaining attractive for the man. In the song, Rudo Imoto women are denied the agency of power as women's needs are silent in the metaphors. These metaphors disempower women by silencing their own views through filtering. Women are persuaded to view the dominance of masculinity as the norm.

The song *Mbereko yakaramba*, "I failed to conceive" captures the Shona value of marriage and the role of women in marriage accurately. In the Shona culture, the sole purpose of two people coming together as husband and wife is for procreation purposes (Gelfand, 1987). It is the woman who must prove that the couple can produce children. If this important aspect of marriage fails, the Shona culture squarely blames the woman. In the song, "Mberekoyakaramba" Marshall Munhumumwe backgrounds the part played by the man in making the woman conceive. There is no reference to that the man could be the missing link in getting the woman pregnant. While love may be a factor in marriage, what seems to be implied by the metaphor *Mbereko yakaramba*, "the baby carrier refused" being able to conceive and have children is more valued. The "baby carrier" is used symbolically to represent the ability to conceive. Its absence means that the woman could not conceive. Implied is that child bearing, therefore, rests with the woman who must prove that she is capable of falling pregnant. Although the man pleads with the woman to come back *Dzoka tigare, rudo chete ndirwo rukuru* "Come back, love is the more important", it is clear that children make a marriage in the Shona culture. It can be argued being able to bear children is highly valued in the Shona culture, the man's response could be an indication that the societal values are changing as the man asserts that what matters most to him is that they love each other. The gendered metaphors, however, are silent on the role of a man in the conception matrix. The reason could be that the Shona culture has face-saving strategies in place for impotent men more than it has for women. One of the language experts interviewed explained that when that happened there was always

*babamunini* “younger brother to the husband” and *muzukuru* “nephew” who could step in and sleep with *amaiguru* “sister-in-law” or Mbuya “aunt” to make her pregnant and save *sekuru* “uncle” or *babamunini*’s “brother-in-law” public image. Although similar arrangements could be made for the wife by bringing in a younger sister or niece, infertility could not be hidden as she remained childless and yet the man could claim the offspring of a brother and his wife as “his”. Thus, we see the conceptualisation of women in the Shona society as key drivers of familial growth but when they fail to reproduce being discarded like lepers. This emphasises the value of marriage for the Shona people and persuades audiences to understand the role of a woman in marriage as mainly procreational. While there is a reference to love in the song, its place in sustaining a marriage is implicitly deemphasised. Although the lyrics and metaphors capture the story of one woman, they apply to many women in the Shona society. Through the metaphors, Marshall Munhumumwe highlights the inequalities women face in their relationship with men as a way of encouraging society to think about such inequalities and alternatively to warn women to be prepared to face such challenges.

Although infidelity in marriage by both spouses is frowned upon, the Shona patriarchal society judges harshly a woman whose husband strays as it has implications on her failure as a lover. To further buttress the unequal treatment and relationship between partners in the marriage the man is absolved of wrong doing as his behaviour is evaluated as predictable and normal *varume ipwere vanotorezva sevana vacheche* “men are babies they need to be mollycoddled” when the woman fails to control the man’s irresponsible nature. It can be argued that the song discourse (metaphors) bemoans the dearth of the traditional role of women in marriage in society. This concurs with the documented view that hegemonic discourses are used to defend gender privileges ascribed by masculine ideologies (Atanga et al., 2013; Silaski, 2009; Butler, 1990; Nhlekisana, 2013)



Simon Chimbetu presents love as enslaving for men. In his song *Dzandipedza mafuta* “Jealousy has affected my health”, Simon Chimbetu chronicles the trial and tribulations that a man’s love for a woman does to his mental and physical health. Literally, *Dzandipedza mafuta*, means “jealousy has made me to lose body fat”. Losing fat is equated to losing one’s weight suggesting that jealousy has affected the personae’s health. The metaphor forces the audience to imaginatively visualise a man who has been so afflicted with love to a point of being mentally and physically ill. The song presents the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A DISEASE /SICKENING. Simon Chimbetu uses the following linguistic metaphors:

<b>Dzandipedza mafuta</b>	<b>Jealousy has affected my health</b>
9 Honai varume kuonda kwandaita.	Look, gentlemen how I have lost weight?
10 Akangoti pote ndapindwa nechando.	Her absence affects me emotionally.
11 Akangoti simu ndapindwa nechando.	If she leaves, it affects me.
12 Inyaya yeshanje dzandipedza mafuta.	It is jealousy that has made me lose weight.
<i>(Simon Chimbetu, 1998)</i>	

Simon Chimbetu comically paints a picture of a restless man who cannot withstand the absence of the woman who is the target of his love. He sings that, *akangoti pote ndapindwa nechando* which literally translates to “If she turns the corner I get cold”, implying that losing sight of the woman affects him mentally. Begging for help from other men, the persona draws attention to how love has affected him physically, *Honai varume kuonda kwandaita?* which literally translates to, “See gentlemen, how I have lost weight”. Unlike Marshall Munhumumwe in the song, *Rudo Imoto*, “Love is Fire”, who presents a married woman as dependent on the husband for love, here it is the man who seems to depend on the woman’s love. *Kupindwa nechando*, “Feeling cold”, is drawn from Shona slang of the time, which metaphorically suggests that the woman’s absence, however, short it may be, affects him emotionally. These metaphors represent the underlying conceptual metaphor, LOVE IS DISEASE/LOVE IS ENSLAVING. Simon Chimbetu compares love to a disease, making it an affliction that needs medical

attention, *ndirapiseiwo varume* “gentlemen get me treated”. The metaphors construct the love relationship as enslaving and sickening to a man. He uses metaphors to portray the man as a victim in this love relationship, which is a reversal of the traditional patriarchal representation of men as strong, independent and emotionally intelligent while women are weak, dependent and lacking in emotional intelligence.

Simon Chimbetu’s metaphors in the song project women as also able to exercise power over men, challenging the dominant traditional discourses that represent women as weak and dependent on men (Nhlekisana, 2013; Ellece, 2013). Chimbetu projects women as being able to exercise power over men. The persona in the song captures this through such a linguistic metaphor as “I have lost fat because of her”, “I cannot stand her being out of sight for a moment”, “and I need medical attention because I am love sick”. These metaphors paint a picture of a man who is physically and emotionally a wreck because of the love of a woman. This implicitly suggest that the man links his loss of weight to his love for the woman. While the metaphors comically project a man who has been reduced to a love patient, Simon Chimbetu consciously or unconsciously presents women as also having , thus confirming the dynamism of power relations between men and women. This affirms Koller (2012) and Charteris-Black’s (2004) view that metaphor in discourse can be used to subvert dominant discourses such as patriarchal discourse. The situation of the man in the lyrics challenges the stereotypical traditional identities of men that they are strong, unemotional, rational and dominant (Nhlekisana, 2013: 179). Simon Chimbetu, through his metaphors, moves away from the stereotypical representation of men showing that even in patriarchal societies, women sometimes exercise power over men in seemingly male-dominated areas such as love. Through the metaphors in the song, Simon Chimbetu challenges the view that men are all-powerful and women are necessarily victims in all gender interactions. Simon Chimbetu is able to expose

that men are just as human as women and that men can be emotionally affected by love in the same way women do. Metaphors in this song assume a pragmatic role of making the reader realise the equality of sexes thus challenging the patriarchal view that women are inferior. Such discourse serves to persuade the Shona audience that men's superiority is not justified.

Simon Chimbetu also uses metaphors to implicitly contribute to contemporary debates on gender in his songs *Dzandipedza Mafuta*, "Jealousy has affected my health" (1998) and *Mudzimai wangu*, My wife (2003). At the time of the release of the song *Mudzimai wangu*, "My wife" the debate about the equality of women and men was raging in Zimbabwe. Metaphors in the song *Dzandipedza Mafuta* "Jealousy has made me lose weight" are used to demystify the belief that men are superior to women. The metaphors in the song are thus used to discursively reject the traditional stereotypical representation of men in a very creative and entertaining way. This concurs with Nhlekisana's (2013) observation that discourse can also be used to subvert stereotypes that present men as superior to women (Nhlekisana, 2013; Richard, 2013). Using the metaphors *akangoti pote ndapindwa nechando*, "If she turns the corner I feel cold", *akangoti simu hana yotorova*, "If she stands to go, I palpitate" is contrary to expectations that a man should be the stronger partner in a relationship. The persona has been reduced to a physical and emotional wreck, a mental patient requiring medical attention *Honai varume ndirapiseyiwo* "Look gentlemen", get me treated.

In the song, *Mudzimai Wangu*, "My wife" by Simon Chimbetu, a man complains about his wife whom he claims has changed and behaves in ways unbecoming of a married woman. This is what he says:

**Mudzimai wangu**

- 13 Ndaifunga nguva iye ndaigara zvakanaka.  
Mudzimai wangu Julie ndiye wandaiti  
Mai vemba.
- 14 Ndagumburwa pabasa, ndingatsamwa seyi  
Ndainyevenuka ndaona Julie.
- 15 Kubasa kunotongwa navaforoma, kumba  
Kunotongwa naiye Julie.
- 16 Hanzi takafanana mwanakomana  
Nemwanasikana.

( *Simon Chimbetu, 2000*)

**My wife**

I remember the time I used to live well.  
I considered Julie as the mother of the  
Family.

However, upset at work I became,  
The sight of Julie eased my anger.

At work, the foreman is my boss and at  
Home, Julie is now my boss.

She says men and women are equal.

The persona bemoans change that has allowed some modern women to become head of families thus emasculating men. The husband feels that his manhood has been challenged by this new age woman “at work the foreman is my boss and at home Julie is now my boss”, and “she says men and women are equal”, the word foreman assumes both a literal meaning and a metaphorical meaning. Literally, “foreman” means supervisor or overseer but in this context, Chimbetu uses it to imply that the wife (Julie) has usurped the duties of the husband by taking over as head of the family. Simon Chimbetu sees this as the subversion of the normal, *Pasi riye rapinduka* “the world is upside down”. Confronted, the wife is not apologetic but asserts that they, (husband and wife) are equal “we are the same, “the boy child” and “the girl child”. The metaphors “foreman”, “boy child”, and “girl child” respond to gender roles and values in the Shona society, where traditionally it was given that the head of the family was the husband and a woman played a subordinate role. In such arrangements, the male child also assumed a status higher than that of a female child in families and in some situations, the male child could take over the role of the father in his absence (Gelfand, 1987). It is this subversion that the persona in the song, “My wife” finds unusual and upsetting the norm.

From the metaphors in the song, “My wife” Simon Chimbetu implicitly wades into the gender equality debate topical at the time the song is released, that is, in 2000. The song is the artist’s

response to gender equality calls in the Zimbabwean society. His opinion is that equality has upset the authority in homes causing disorder. Hines (2000) argues that discourse is sometimes used to negatively represent women who show power over men as challenging the norm. Chimbetu thus represents gender equality as disempowering men and empowering women and his view is that it is not normal. Whether he is speaking for himself or other Zimbabweans, the intended effect is clear, that is to challenge gender equality calls. Simon Chimbetu or the persona feels his manhood has been challenged by the loss of power at home and at work. In a way, it can be argued that Simon Chimbetu bemoans the traditional role of women as home minders and submissive subordinate companions to men. Thus, metaphors in the song present the new order indexed by gender equality as unnatural, disempowering to men and over and above that uncultured. The woman's claim of equality between men and women upsets the privileges men have enjoyed before the advent of gender equality calls. It can be concluded that in this song Simon Chimbetu uses gendered metaphor discursively to argue that gender equality is wrong, thus confirming that metaphors can be used to reinforce and defend hegemonic discourse by arguing that male dominance is the normal and any alternative order is abnormal (Jerome, 2013). The rhetorical effect of the song therefore, is to counter argue the wave of gender equality that swept through Zimbabwe in the 1990s.

Paul Matavire's selection and mapping of metaphors projects women as troublemakers whose behaviour cannot change because it is their nature. In Matavire's songs; *Dhiyabhorosi nyoka* "The wicked woman" and *Chipuka Ndipemwenje* "ugly woman", Matavire deploys metaphors and enlists the Bible to communicate and justify his views on women's roles and women's relationships with men. The following metaphors are extracted from the song *Dhiyabhorosi Nyoka* "The wicked woman" he sings:

**Dhiyabhorosi nyoka****Wicked woman**

17	...Adam akanga arimutsvene	Adam was a saint.
18	Asina chivi	He had no sin.
29	...Hama dzedu dzerurimi runotapira.	Women, our sweet-tongued relatives.
20	Ivava vemashoko akatetepera kunge sadza Remurwere.	These, with thin sweet voices..
21	Nekuti rurimi rwevanhu ava runotapira.	...Because women's tongues are sweet
22	Musandinakurira nyoka mhenyu Iyi veduwe.	Don't blame me
23	Daivasivo nyika ino riri sango rizere Nemichero mudyandigere.	..Had it not been for women this country Would be a paradise.
24	...Tarisai kuvakwa kwavakaita.	Look closely at their physical Appearance.
25	Zvino munoti Adam aigodii.	Adam was no match to her seduction.
26	...Murume uchadya chezviya.	In order to survive, the man has to Sweat first.
27	...Mukadzi ucharwadziwa nemimba.	A woman will have a painful child-birth.

(Paul Matavire, 1991 )

Paul Matavire uses metaphors to discursively represent women as the genesis of men's problems. In the song *Dhiyabhorosi nyoka* "the wicked woman", Paul Matavire laments that men's problems go far back as the Biblical times when God created Adam and Eve. The snake referred to in the song is not literal, but the "the devil" that persuaded Adam and Eve to go against God's instructions. In the song a man is represented as without sin, "a saint", good person, until Eve (is created) corrupted him. Thus, women are metaphorically represented as the root of men's problems. In the same way that the Biblical Eve created problems for Adam, Paul Matavire envisions the coming of a woman into a man's life as the beginning of a man's problems. Matavire uses these metaphors to emphasise that before a woman's creation Adam "had not committed any sin", Adam was "a saint", *mutsvene*, "he had not sinned" *asina chivi*, "he had not wronged God" *Hapana chaakatadzira nyadenga*. On the other hand, Matavire describes women as "our sweet tongued relatives" *hama dzedu dzerurimi rwunotapira*, metaphorically describing women as naturally seductive. He concludes with the metaphor *dai vasivo nyika ino riri sango remichero mudyandigere*, "had it not been for women this country

would be a paradise”. The forest full of fruits, *sango remichero*, the Shona metaphor equivalent to the Biblical paradise and the Garden of Eden, insinuates a world in which people live luxuriously, “without having to work” as he puts it. According to Matavire, men are just hapless before women. Using the story of creation, which is also a metaphor of the origin of men’s problems, Matavire implicitly projects women as naturally seductive and irresistible to men because of the way “they are built”. Matavire argues that men resemble “the Biblical Adam”, which makes them no match for women, “what could Adam have done?” Matavire asks, metaphorically and contextually insinuating that women can have their way when dealing with man.

Matavire also sings that before the creation of Eve, “Adam was sinless” *arimutsvene/asina chivi*. By extension, therefore, he argues that bachelorhood is equivalent to a situation where Adam was sinless, only for his problem to start when Eve was created. To a listening audience, such descriptions and interpretations of men and women's relationships present men as victims of women machinations or seduction. According to Koller (2012), metaphor describes and evaluates phenomena in a discursive way that advocates for a particular reality. The reality that Matavire creates in his song is that women are never good for men as they always have a negative influence on men and that they get what they want from men using wily ways. However, it can be argued that while Paul Matavire’s intention is to largely present men as victims, he also inadvertently represents men as weak and powerless beings who cannot withstand women’s seductive nature. This confirms the view that authors of discourse are not entirely in control of discourses they generate as they sometimes unconsciously convey unintended meanings, which audiences can recover from texts (Lazar, 1993).

In Matavire's song, *Chipuka Ndipe mwenje* "ugly woman" a male persona envisages a situation in which he marries an ugly woman referred to as a *beast* (Indescribably ugly in the Shona language) in the song. The man attributes men's problems as rooted in men's chase of beautiful women. The persona declares that he prefers the ugly woman as long as she can provide him with love instead of artificial women whom every man is after. This is what he says:

<b>Chipuka ndipe mwenje</b>	<b>Ugly woman</b>
28 ...Vakaita seruva ukaritanha mangwana Rinofuma raoma.	They are like a flower which looks Beautiful when you harvest it, only to Soon lose its beauty .
29 Vane vhudzi rekutenga.	With artificial hair
30 Vane ganda rakanatswa nemafuta.	Who wear make up.
31 ...Mukunaka ndomunobva nhamo dzose.	But it is this beauty that is the source Of all men's problems.

(Paul Matavire, 2005)

Matavire's description of women in the song is metaphorical. According to him, men's troubles in life are centred on "artificial women" who wear "artificial hair" and "enhance their skin texture" by using skin-enhancing oils. He also describes them as having ephemeral beauty like "recently picked flowers". In Matavire's opinion, some women are not naturally beautiful because they are not what they present themselves to men as. His view is that the so-called ugly women are the good women for men. Matavire views beauty in women as not physical but the character that makes a woman a good wife. Matavire argues that it is the so-called ugly woman, "the beast" *Chipuka ndipemwenje*, who is "beautiful" because she does not cause problems for a man. Through the metaphors, Matavire interrogates and shares the Shona people's conceptualisation of beauty in women, which according to Matavire goes beyond physical beauty to include character and personality. Thus, using metaphors to describe and evaluate the two kinds of women in the song the "physically" ugly woman and the 'physically' beautiful one, Matavire argues that women generally create problems for men.



The persona claims that the Maintenance Act is breaking up marriages *Kwamudzviti ndakasvika vachiti maoko akurwadza nekubvarura michato*, “At the Courts they complain of the increasing rate of divorce”, which metaphorically could mean that there were complaints in the legal system that the Maintenance Act Chapter (5:09) was causing marriage breakups. The ideological purpose of the song is to represent women’s empowerment as upsetting what he considers to be, “the natural order” that is the dominance of men. By using metaphors that largely lampoon women who derive power from their beauty, Matavire discursively represents women who possess power over men as not good thus suggesting that the norm is for women to always defer to men. The inadvertent effect of Matavire’s representation of men in the song “the ugly woman” is that it represents men as some times weak when challenged by women even without laws to protect women. He thus represents women power in such contexts as unnatural and immoral.

From Matavire’s gendered metaphors in the two songs *Dhindindi*, “Joy” and *Chipuka Ndipe Mwenje* “ugly woman” it is evident that Matavire uses metaphors to subtly cast women as the genesis of all men’s problems. Using the metaphor of an “the ugly woman”, Matavire castigates beautiful women for causing men problems. His view is that an ugly woman is better to deal with as long as she is “kind-hearted” *chinemoyo une rudo*. According to him therefore, beautiful women create problems for men. He argues that beautiful women become the centre of attraction and men compete to win over their love. He compares beautiful women to flowers thus suggesting that the happiness they bring to men is short lived. His view is that they bring trouble as one has to fend off other men, “Men are like bees around her”, threatening to snatch them. Even though Matavire states at the beginning of the song that he blames men for being dissatisfied by a single woman, in the rest of the song he uses metaphors that suggest that men’s problems start and end with women. Matavire uses the metaphor WOMEN ARE TROUBLE

to persuade his audience to view them as a bad influence on men's lives. Matavire argues that women abuse the power of child support that the legal framework has bestowed upon them from abusive men. As a result, Matavire exonerates men and attributes divorce to child support law abuse as women are able to take men to court and ask for an end to marriage in the comfort of knowing that courts will support them and they can get maintenance. To emphasise how the divorce rate has got so bad, he comically represents court workers as bemoaning the physical pain they have had to endure when annulling marriages," having painful arms due to spending time tearing marriage certificates". Matavire uses these metaphors to cast the legal power that women now possess as disempowering men. This allows Matavire to implicitly attack the Maintenance Act and gender equality campaigns as causing social upheaval and divorce. Matavire thus insinuates that the gender equality movement advocating for men and women equality as supposedly creating disorder in society. He says men bemoan divorce and child maintenance as purely a women problem. Men divorce beautiful women who "enhance their beauty with skin oils" and "artificial hair", *vhudzi rekutenga*. The intention is to persuade society to view women as troublesome for men and a problem that men have to live with. By foregrounding women through the metaphors men's roles in the divorces are backgrounded to make men appear as victims of the new breed of empowered women who report and sue them for maintenance. Such women are castigated and represented as cultural misfits, bereft of Shona values. Instead of celebrating child maintenance Matavire castigates it for causing divorce. It becomes apparent that metaphor in music serves the same ideological as in the political domain (Charteris-Black, 2004; Lakoff and Johnson, 1990). In contrast, the metaphors represent men as victims of beautiful women or enlightened women who use the law to restore their rights. This confirms Lopez's (2009) assertion that women who challenge and exercise power over men are castigated as immoral to defend male dominance.

In the song, *Dhindindi Full time* “Let’s have joy full time” Matavire extols a man who loves joy and represents married women as controlling. The song is a conversation between wife and husband. The song is a response to attempts by his wife to try to persuade him from going out.

This is how the husband responds and describes himself and the wife:

<b>Dhindindi Full time</b>	<b>Entertainment 24/7</b>
32 ...Idya mari yako uchiri mupenyu.	Have fun while you are still alive.
33 ...Rega kuende isu vana chizhonda mari. Idya mari yako uchiri mupenyu.	Allow us, big spenders, to go out And enjoy.
34 Imba ndeyangu, vana ndevangu, mari Ndeyangu, iwe uri wangu.	This is my home, the children are mine, The money is mine, you are mine
35 Rega kuda kundi kondirora kondirora.	Don’t control me.
36 Ndikada kupindapinda ndinopinda pinda Chikaindi chese.	It is my choice to go out with other Women or not.
37 Hapana anoti pwe.	No one can challenge me.
<i>(Paul Matavire, 1990)</i>	

Apparently, the wife complains about the man’s absence at home. Instead of paying attention to the woman the man is emphatic that he wants to “enjoy himself 24/7” directly translated as “Entertainment full-time” *Dhindindi full time*. The persona metaphorically describes himself as, “a big spender”, *chizhonda mari*, “those who take care of the less fortunate of the world”, *chirera nherera*. He declares that everything that the family has belongs to him, “the home, the children, the house, the wife *Imba ndeyangu, vana ndevangu, mari ndeyangu, iwe uri wangu*. He reprimands the wife for trying to control him *Rega kundi kondirora kondirora, Imba ndeyangu, vana ndevangu iwe uri wangu*, and declares that “it is his choice to go out with other women or not and no one can challenge”. At face value, Matavire represents the man as a joy lover but underlying meanings carried by such metaphorical adjectives as, “big spender” assume a metaphorical meaning for one “who spends lavishly”. By describing himself, as someone who takes care of the less fortunate could be interpreted to mean that the man feels that it his choice and right whether to have other women or not. The personae emphasises that,

“the home, the children, the house, and you all belong to me,” implying that the wife has no claim on anything that belongs to the family.

The metaphors in the song, “Entertainment 24/7” reassert the authority of men by reminding the audience where power resides in families. While the persona may appear rude to an audience that has no experience of the Shona culture, he is merely affirming the Shona values and expected roles of men and women. According to the Shona culture, the man is the head of the family and everything belongs to him. Men have the final say on everything (Gelfand, 1987). It can be argued that Matavire uses metaphors in this song to reconfirm and emphasise men's and women's roles in families where, for instance, the woman is expected to be in charge of the home and children as a delegated role, leaving all decisions for the men to make. On the other hand, the man has the latitude to do as he wishes, including going out to have fun and even have sexual relations with other women. Matavire's gendered metaphors in this song, therefore, can be regarded as contesting challenges to such values and roles. If considered in the socio-economic context of the time that the song is released (1990), it can be argued that metaphorical and lyrical discourse was in responsive to the gender equality campaigns at the time. The metaphors are ideological and polemic as they advocate for continued subordination of women in marriages.

Through the Adam and Eve metaphor, Matavire implies that men are virtuous until women corrupt them. In the song, “ugly woman”, Matavire's metaphors hide why men have to pay maintenance and project women as abusing power by going to the courts to seek divorce and maintenance. It can be argued that Matavire's selection of the metaphors is deliberate and ideological since positive portrayal would not serve his purpose of presenting men as the victims. However, Matavire's metaphors also subvert the stereotypical belief that men are not

powerful in all gender interactions. The man who wishes to be married to the ugliest woman does that out of fear of competition thus Matavire dispels the patriarchal belief that men are courageous and all-powerful. In very subtle ways, therefore, metaphors can be used to cast aspersions on the so-called hegemonic common sense that represents women as powerless.

The overarching conceptual metaphor is that WOMEN ARE TROUBLE and men are unfortunate victims. Coming through Matavire's views is the Shona adage that says, *mukadzi munaku akasaroya anoba*, 'a beautiful woman is either a witch or a thief'. This is not a nicety used to describe women but language constitutive of entrenched traditional views that fail to recognise individual differences in women. Such metaphors can only succeed to cultivate misogynist views in society and fail to present women as men's equals, weaknesses and strengths considered. Equating women to "flowers" *maruva* evaluates women's beauty as ephemeral or transient. The use of Biblical metaphors by Matavire makes a strong case against women to a Zimbabwean audience that is largely religious. Implied in the Biblical reference is that if it said in the scriptures it is God given and that cannot be upset by treating women as equal to men. Matavire's metaphors also assert the general patriarchally purveyed argument that women are the root of men's problems through representing them as artificial, seductresses or as dependent on men for support and survival. Matavire fits into a category of musicians who sometimes use metaphor to reinforce masculine perspectives of gender, which serves to legitimise hegemonic cultural narratives that disempower women (Chari, 2008). Such discourse sustains asymmetrical power relations between men and women rather than challenging them, thus confirming that lyrical discourse and in particular, gendered metaphors may be used to rhetorically sustain hegemonic discourses through, "echoing and sustaining culturally familiar gender stereotypes and expectations," (Nhlekisana, 2013:184).

Pamhidzai Mbirimi (Pachihera) also uses metaphors in some of her songs to project a different perspective of love in men and women relationships. Singing about a serial absentee and abusive husband, she uses these metaphorical expressions in the song *Haitongwe nedemo* “Violence cannot be used to rule a family”.

<b>Haitongwe nedemo</b>	<b>Violence cannot be used to run a family</b>
38 Imba haitongwe nedemo.	A home can't be run by using force.
39 ...Rudo harutengwe nemari..	Money cannot buy love.
40 ...Handina kuvinga mota.	I didn't marry you for material things
41 ...Pamba haurare unodzoka Mangwanani.	You are hardly at home.
42 ...Shamwari dzinokufurira.	Friends mislead you.
43 ...Chero usipo iwewe ndinorarama.	Even when you are not around I will Survive.

( Pamhidzai Mbirimi, 2018)

The persona says that *Imba haitongwe nedemo* which translates to that “violence cannot be used to run a family”. The axe in the literal translation of the lyric, “an axe cannot be used to run a family” symbolises the use of physical force by the man to solve family conflicts. Home here refers to a family that she says cannot be run using an “axe”. For her *rudo harutengwe nemari*, “money cannot buy love”, *Handina kuvinga mota*, “I did not come for the car”, *Chero usipo ndinorarama* “even when you are not around I will survive”. These metaphors constitute common metaphors normally used in the Shona language to discuss and interpret relationships and conflicts between married couples. The metaphor “It cannot be run using an axe”, what the artist implicitly suggests is that violence cannot be used to control or run a family. The metaphor “Money can not buy love”, *rudo harutengwe nemari*, is also not literal as Pamhidzai implies that material things cannot replace love. She also accuses the man of spending much of his time away from home, *Pamba haurare unouya mangwana*, which is emphasised in the Shona translated version “you don’t sleep at home, you only come in the morning”, that is, “you are hardly at home” (English version). The persona further accuses the man of being

misled by friends; “Your friends mislead you” which metaphorically castigates the husband for getting bad advice from friends. The woman emphasises through the metaphor, “I did not *come for a car*” that she did not get married to the man because she was a gold digger. The last metaphor in the lyric “Even when you’re not there I will live” argues that regardless of whether she remains married or not she will be able to survive on her own.

A closer look at the metaphors in Pamhidzai Mbirimi’s song “*violence cannot be used to run a family*’ persuasively challenges the popular patriarchal narrative that women cannot exist without men, they are materialistic and that if men provide for them they should be happy. The metaphors emphasise that violence cannot be used to run a home both literally and metaphorically. Pamhidzai Mbirimi paints the picture of an errant husband who is getting bad advice from friends which causes him to be “hardly at home”. She subtly points out that material wealth “money” or “a car” cannot be a substitute for love. The metaphors represent a rejection of the traditional conceptualisation of marriage where women are supposed to be content as long as the husband is able to provide for the family. The woman in the song speaks out against the use of force to settle disagreements in the family, “run a home using an axe”. Pamhidzai also uses these metaphors to challenge the stereotypical view that women need men to survive by declaring that she can survive on her own, “I can live without you”. Through the metaphor, Pamhidzai speaks directly to women living in abusive marriages and reassures them that their circumstances are changeable and can have a life outside the abusive marriage. By so doing, Pamhidzai Mbirimi challenges the patriarchal ideology whose hegemonic discourse suggests that women need men to provide for them giving the impression that outside marriage women cannot survive.

Through the highlighted metaphors, Pamhidzai Mbirimi's song, "violence can not be used to run a family", brings a surging view of marriage where material things are no longer the motivation for a marriage union but individual satisfaction (Coontz, 2004). Coontz observes that marriage is shifting from a convenient arrangement, where it was conceptualised as an arrangement that brought people together for procreation and provision and then later on an institution ensuring material satisfaction. In the contemporary society, according to Coontz this has shifted to the demand for individual satisfaction by women. This is what Pamhidzai Mbirimi captures, as she demands individual satisfaction and not just material satisfaction symbolised by "the car" and "the money". In her view, wealth or financial protection is not enough for an absent husband. These metaphors implicitly and ideologically challenge the traditional and materialistic view of marriage and present men as still holding on to those views. This confirms Gerrits and Trimble's (2013) and Foucault 1977 (cited in Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000) asserts that those who are normally at the receiving end of masculinity dominance can subvert and challenge the powerful. Through the metaphors, Pamhidzai Mbirimi propagates a feminist ideology and challenges the patriarchal views of marriage where women are supposed to be content with material things. Studies indicate that metaphor mapping is not neutral as its arise from vested interests of communicators (Koller, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2007; Kovesces, 2012). Thus, Mbirimi's metaphors are ideological as they reject the tradition views of marriage where women are supposed to be "kept" by men. The metaphors in this song inform and persuade the audience to view marriage a union of two equal partners departing from the Shona tradition that gives a man more power than a woman (Gelfand, 1987).

Oliver Mtukudzi also uses metaphors in his songs to talk about men and women in love and marriage relationships. In the song *Wagona fani*, "You have done so well". The song is a



conversation between a husband and his wife. The wife feels she has not been appreciated until then. She reminds the husband of how he has been ill-treating her. The husband is all praises.

<b>Wagona fani</b>	<b>You have done so well</b>
44 Wakandinemba/Wakandidenha nerudo.	You provoked me with love.
45 Kuperera nerudo.	I was completely taken.
46 ...Seyi uchindibata nekunze kweruoko.	Why do you ill-treat me?
47 Seyi uchindibata sendisi munhu.	You treat me as if I am not human.
48 Ndini mai vako	I am your mother,
49 Ndinizve ndakabara baba vako	I am your paternal grandmother,
50 Ndinizve mai vakabara mese.	I am the mother who gave birth to all Of you.
51 ...Kundipuruzira pandavaviwa wagona.	You have done well to be there for me.

(Oliver Mtukudzi, 2009 )

The husband praises her for thanking him using his totem *kunditenda nemutupo wagona*, “to thank me using my totem, you have done so well”. While the woman complains of ill-treatment from the husband through the metaphors, *unondibata nekunze kweruoko*, “You ill-treat me” literally put across “touching me using the outside of your hand” and *unondibata sendisi munhu* “You treat me like I am not human”. She reminds her who she is in his life, *Ndini mai vako* “I am your mother”, *ndini mai vababa vako* “I am your father’s mother”, *ndini ndakabara mese* “I am the one who gave birth to you all”.

When the persona in Mtukudzi’s song *Wagona* “You have done well” says *Kunditenda nemutupo* “to thank me using my totem” it does not mean the woman used his totem to literally to say thank you, but that she mentions the totem in expressing gratitude to him. In this context when a person mentions some one’s totem in expressing gratitude, it shows a deep appreciation of whatever the person is saying thank you for and *wagona* is also not literal. *Kugona* in Shona means “to do good” but in this context, it is more than confirmation of having done something good but deep appreciation of what the husband has done.

Mtukudzi uses metaphors in the song *Wagona fani*, “You have done so well”, to appeal to the audience to appreciate the value of women in society. While highlighting the ill treatment that women in general have to, sometimes, go through, his metaphors force the audience to reflect on how society has sometimes treated women as less human compared to men. The metaphors powerfully ask society, to take stock of how it treats its women folk. Such metaphors can only be meant to change gender attitudes that denigrate women in the Zimbabwean society especially as men are reminded of the key role that women play in procreation, “I am a mother to all of you” *ndini ndakabara mese*.

Mtukudzi’s gendered metaphors project women as very important in men’s lives challenging the notion that women are lesser human beings and cannot be equal to men. While it can be argued that musicians such as Paul Matavire and Marshal Munhumumwe have some times used metaphors in some of their songs to reinforce patriarchy in the Zimbabwean society, Mtukudzi appears to either take a neutral tone or deliberately adopt a feminist stance towards gender issues in his songs. Mtukudzi uses metaphors to deconstruct and challenge masculinity through presenting women as men’s equals and invaluable in the men’s lives (Gerrits and Trimble 2013). He is an avid feminist through his music as evidenced by most of his songs that appear to champion the cause of women and children especially against HIV and AIDS and gender-based violence (Tshuma, 2016). Mtukudzi, therefore, uses gendered metaphors to subvert the patriarchal order. It can be argued that Mtukudzi’s gender metaphors in the song “You have done so well, his metaphors implicitly suggest that he has changed if we go by what the wife refers to as his past misdeeds. Thus, his metaphorical discourse fits into the lyrical discourse that challenges hegemonic discourse by reproducing an alternative discourse (Mateveke, 2013; Chari, 2008; Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2015). His intentions are aimed at persuading men to value women. Zimbabwean audiences have argued that the song “You have done so well” was

a dedication to his wife Daisy, in which he seems to atone for his behaviour, which had been a subject of the media. However, the song can still find meaning to Zimbabwean men in general, making a clarion call for them to change and begin to appreciate the role of women in their lives.

In the song, “My Special wife”, *Svovi* by Oliver Mtukudzi, the persona is expressing appreciation that his wife has added value to his life. He says she is “special” *svovi*, to him. He equates her to a “rib”, *mbabvu*, drawing the metaphor from the story of creation that says that Eve was created from one of Adam’s ribs.

<b>Svovi yangu</b>	<b>My special wife</b>
52 Wazadzisa hupenyu wangu.	You have made my life whole.
53 Ndiwe wega ndiwe.	You are the only one.
54 Hupenyu hwangu hwange huri gasva.	There was something missing in my life.
55 Ndiwe mbabvu yangu ndiwe.	You are my rib.
56 Ndiwe svovi yangu ndiwe.	You are my special wife.
57 ...Kungonzwa kuti tamarana.	They celebrate our fights.
58 ...Vanorova bembera.	They make innuendos.
<i>(Oliver Mtukudzi, 1996 )</i>	

The metaphors used in this song are very symbolic in the experiences of the Shona people. Reference to the woman as the man’s rib *mbabvu yangu*, has Biblical connotations that transcends the literal meaning of a rib. Here the rib emphasises how vital the woman is. The persona further claims that the wife is not an ordinary wife but one who is as loved as the last wife in a polygamous marriage. This drives home the point that the wife is special. In response, the man is apologetic and blames third parties as causing conflict in their relationship. He credits the wife for making his life meaningful “you have made my life whole”, *wazadzisa hupenyu hwangu hwanga huri gasva*.

Through the song *Svovi yangu* “My special wife”, Oliver Mtukudzi celebrates the value of women as companions in men’s lives. *Svovi* (in the Korekore dialect of Shona) is “a junior wife” in a polygamous marriage. Mtukudzi is not celebrating polygamy here but a wife in a monogamous marriage, therefore, the meaning of *Svovi* should not be taken in its literal sense. *Svovi* mapped on to a wife in a monogamous marriage assumes a different meaning, which emphasises that the wife is like the junior wife in a polygamous union, who being the last to be married is usually the most favourite and most loved by her husband. To further emphasise the adoration of the wife Mtukudzi praises her for being “the only one” *ndiwe wega ndiwe*. The other metaphors, “you have made my life whole”, “you are my rib” I am every woman in your life emphasises the key role of women in men’s lives. Using the metaphors Mtukudzi argues that a woman adds value to men’s lives. Comparing the woman to his rib also emphasises that without women in their lives men’s lives lack value. The allusion to the Biblical story of creation and the rib strengthens his argument by giving it a spiritual link. By declaring that, “you are my rib” Mtukudzi emphasises that women are a part of men’s lives and created by the same God that created men. Mtukudzi’s rib metaphor counters narratives that are captured in other song lyrics such as Paul Matavire’s metaphors in the song “the wicked woman” in which the rib is used to suggest that women are not equal to men. This concurs with Charteris-Black (2004) who argues that choice metaphor and its mapping is not neutral but ideological.

It can be noted that gendered metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse on love and marriage relationships is generally persuasive and ideological. Depending on the context, metaphor is used to describe, interpret and evaluate men's and women's roles and values for ideological purposes. Imbued in the metaphors are debates on gender equality that are reflected through the different roles and identities musicians seem to ascribe to men and women for rhetorical purposes. Thus, Shona song lyrics contain metaphors that capture individual and societal views

on gender. The metaphors also reflect the love and marriage values of the Shona audience thus making them powerful tools of persuasion. The next section explores the use of metaphors in songs that focus on disease, corruption and moral decay.

### 5.3.2 Gendered metaphors in songs that focus on disease and moral decadence

This section focuses on metaphors used by musicians to talk about disease, corruption and moral decadence in relation to men and women relationships and roles. Metaphors used in the songs persuasively describe, interpret and evaluate these relationships and roles for various purposes depending on the intention of the artist. Songs explored include songs from Paul Matavire Oliver Mtukudzi and Leonard Zhakata.

Zimbabwean musicians in Shona songs also use gendered metaphor to capture social ills such as abuse, sexual harassment, immoral behaviour and corruption in relation to interpersonal interactions between men and women. Paul Matavire captures these ills in some of his songs. Highlighting sexual harassment, corruption and prostitution as endemic in the Zimbabwean society in which the Shona people are also a part. He uses a number of gendered metaphors in the lyrics of his song, *Tanga wandida* “Love me first”. The song captures the experience of a woman looking for a job and in another situation travelling with her husband. This is captured in lyrics as follows:

	<b>Tanga wandida</b>	<b>Love me first</b>
59	Vamwe varume havagone kupfimba. Vanopona nemavara seshato.	Some men cannot propose love. They are as deceptive as a python.
60	...Yedu nhamo ndeyefodya yemudzanga Uku yakarumwa uku inotsva.	Ours is a catch 22 situation.
61	...Ndoda tiite mutamba kwese kunzungu Nekunyimo.	Let us double-cross our spouses.
62	Imi ambuya dzakanyatsoti kwesere here? (Paul Matavire, 1988 )	You madam, are you normal?

The persona compares the behaviour of some men to how pythons, *Shato*, catch their prey. According to the persona, these men are like a python that uses its “various skin colours” to hypnotise its prey before it strikes. The musician is certainly not saying that the men are python but that their behaviour is deceptive, appearing to be genuinely professional when they are not. She bemoans that women looking for employment are in a “catch 22 situation”, which is captured literally as, “our case is that of a burning cigarette that burns on one end with the smoker biting it on the other end”. The metaphor describes the dilemma that women face in social interactions such as job searching where men demand to sleep with them in exchange for jobs, “love me first”. Those searching for jobs are exposed to proposals to cheat their husbands to secure jobs. When they find themselves in this situation, the persona argues that the two options available are equally bad. On one hand, they desperately need the jobs and accepting the love propositions of male bosses exposes them to divorce and disease, “the burning cigarette situation”. He further describes such men as cunning and abusive to vulnerable women wishing to eke out a living. The female persona in the song highlights the dilemma that women looking for employment face. She describes the situation of women as a catch 22 situation where they face equally bad alternatives implying that “double-crossing their husbands” *kutamba kwese kunzungu nekunyimo* is equally bad, “a burning cigarette problem”. However, the woman refuses to do as the boss demands and this surprises the potential employer who questions the woman’s sanity, *imi ambuya imi dzakanyatsoti kwesere* “you, madam, are you normal” highlighting the practice had become wide-spread so much that society was beginning to take it as normal.

Paul Matavire’s gendered metaphors collectively constitute and capture the Zimbabwean problem in the 1990s when the unemployment rate went up. Nyambuya (1994) asserts that the

period subsequent to the adoption of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) caused massive job losses and spiked the unemployment rate. It is against this background that Matavire uses gendered metaphors to capture a corollary rise in corruption because of increased unemployment. The metaphors construct inequalities that women had to face on the job market where men expected them to submit to their sexual demands in exchange of jobs. Matavire's use of these metaphors highlights how metaphors can be used to present serious gender issues of concern to society. While hilariously capturing the moral decay of the Zimbabwean society, Matavire seriously appeals to society to reflect on how governance issues affect society. This does not only expose women as discriminated against but also the worst affected when things go wrong in society. The song "Love me first" presents the reality of the Zimbabwe socio-economic situation in ways that challenge people to reflect on the double-edged sword the feminist gender face in their day-to-day lives. Through these metaphors, Matavire fights in the corner of women through discursively constructing a reality where women are abused and discriminated against. Matavire's metaphorical discourse in this song constitutes alternative discourses that challenge patriarchal ideology (Koller and Semino, 2009). He represents power relations between men and women and degrading circumstances that women have to endure in every day interactions with men. According to him, the interactions are characterised by men seeking to exploit women sexually at every opportunity thus emphasising that men view women as sex objects. The corollary of the metaphors is that they represent the males in the song as lacking humanness *Ubuntu/unhu* values (Samkange and Samkange, 1980). Ubuntu is an African philosophy that emphasises the interdependence of human beings. One of its tenets is that an individual should do unto others what he or expects them to do for him. Thus, Paul Matavire uses metaphors to appeal to the audience to take stock of humanness value when man and women relate.

Oliver Mtukudzi's use of gendered metaphors is diametrical to most Zimbabwean Shona musicians. His metaphors take a firm feminist view where he tends to deconstruct what may be viewed as the Shona culturally held views on gender. Using the ravaging HIV and AIDS theme in some of his songs Mtukudzi presents men as the drivers of the spread of the disease. A number of his songs, construct men as wild. In *Todii* "What shall we do", Mtukudzi sings of the dilemma faced by women in the face of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. Using metaphors, the persona chronicles the trials and tribulations that women endure. Mtukudzi is quite forthright in pinning the blame on men. This is what the persona says in some of the lyrics of the song *Todii*, "What shall we do":

<b>Todii, Senzeni</b>	<b>What shall we do?</b>
63 Zvinorwadza seyi kurera rufu Mumaoko.	How painful is it to nurture death in Your hands.
64 Uchiziva unahwo hutachiona.	Knowing you are infected.
65 Zvinorwadza seyi kubhinywa Neakabvisa pfuma. ( <i>Oliver Mtukudzi, 1998</i> )	How painful is it to be sexually abused by Your husband.

Mtukudzi accuses men of sexual violence when he says, *Zvinorwadza seyi kubhinywa newaugere naye*, "how painful is it to be forced to have sex by the man you live with". "*Kubhinywa newaugere naye* is not literal but used metaphorically to refer to forced sex in marital contexts. The persona further captures asymmetrical power relations between married couples when it comes to negotiating for sex through the metaphor, "Knowing you are infected". Mtukudzi uses these metaphors to highlight how women are disempowered on issues relating to sex.

Oliver Mtukudzi's choice of metaphors departs from the common male lyrical discourse regarding male and female relationships in the face of HIV and AIDS (Chari, 2008; Mateveke,



2013; Chiweshe and Bhatasara, 2013). His metaphors take a deliberate attempt to give voice to women who in most instances do not have a voice. The metaphors are not only appropriate in discussing a subject that is taboo in the Shona society. By carefully choosing his metaphors, Mtukudzi reaches out to his audience's cultural practice he considers responsible for spreading HIV and AIDS. Such metaphors allow Mtukudzi to discuss in implicit ways the subject that most of his audiences are not very free to discuss more so in public. By carefully choosing and constructing his metaphors, Mtukudzi is able to attack cultural practices that he views as responsible for spreading HIV and AIDS using language appropriate to his audience. For instance, in the Shona culture, a woman is expected not to refuse her husband sex as long as she is not menstruating. This makes sex an entitlement to the husband who according to the persona paid a bride price. Underlying this is the conceptual metaphor that WOMEN ARE NOT EQUAL TO MEN in the Shona culture. Mtukudzi's metaphors in this song empathetically evaluate men's behaviour as wrong and devoid of unhu/Ubuntu. In this case, Mtukudzi uses these metaphors to illustrate the disempowered position of women in the Zimbabwean society. Such discourse discursively urges both the audience to reflect on how it relates in the face of HIV and AIDS.

In another song, *Tapera*, "We are dying" Mtukudzi further castigates men's behaviour in the face of HIV and AIDS. In the song, the persona bemoans how people in society are dying slowly. He blames immorality and principally men's refusal to act responsibly. To illustrate what he believes to be the cause of these deaths Mtukudzi's song captures through metaphors typical scenarios in places of entertainment. This is what he says through metaphors in the following selected lyrics:

	<b>Tapera</b>		<b>We are dying</b>
66	Varume vakuru,		Grown up men
67	Munenge pwere seyi.		Why do you behave like toddlers.
68	Rega kuvarairwa, rega kuyeverwa.		Don't get carried away.
69	Ndoona wobate musoro, wobate musana		I watch you dance with abandon in the
	Pakati pemhandara.		Midst of young Women.
	(Oliver Mtukudzi, 2016)		

Men are represented as, *Varume vakuru munenge pwere seyi* “Grown men ...behaving like toddlers” “Grown men” is not literal but points to the age of men found at places of entertainment who Mtukudzi evaluate as behaving immaturely “like toddlers” *pwere*. These men get carried away *kuvarairwa/kuyeverwa* whose literal meaning is to remain fixed in one place because something has caught your attention. In a similar way, Mtukudzi describes the men he sees at places of entertainment, “dancing with abandon in the midst of young women” translated literally, as “I see you touch your head, touch your back, in the midst of young women”. The young women are literally referred to as “virgins” which emphasises their innocence and at the mercy of world wise old men. This implicitly suggests an unequal relation that may lead exploitation. The metaphor draws from audience’s experience to highlight the unequal relationship making it appeal strongly to the audience’s emotions. One gets the image of people who are not concerned about their behaviour or its consequences. Mtukudzi is saying that society expects these “mature men” to be responsible, to realise the consequence of their behaviour but they seem not to. Instead, what we get are excited men to be in the company of young women. The description of older men in the company of “young women” is Mtukudzi’s metaphorical way of castigating sexual abuse that goes along with those associations. By using such a metaphor, Mtukudzi implicitly castigates older men who abuse young girls a phenomenon that has taken root in Zimbabwe.

Using these metaphors Mtukudzi exposes the risk behaviour that old and mature men who expose themselves and young women to HIV and AIDS. The metaphors constitute a negative evaluation of men's behaviour. They capture vividly what goes on in places of entertainment, which is characterised by older men using the money to take advantage of young women. Mtukudzi therefore, uses these metaphors to argue that immorality and men are the main drivers of HIV and AIDS. The metaphors represent women as victims thus deconstructing the notion that women abuse men as captured in some songs (see analysis of metaphors in "Entertainment 24/7" by Paul Matavire). Through these metaphors, Mtukudzi projects men as irresponsible, immoral and contributing to the spread of HIV and AIDS. Thus through the song and metaphors, Mtukudzi is able to sensitively debate sex-related causes of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. This concurs with Finegan's (1970) observation that musical discourse captures topical issues affecting the society allowing the musician to persuade audiences to accept preferred views.

In the song *Maruva enyika*, "flowers of the nation", Leonard Zhakata also represents men and women in the context of HIV and AIDS. The song praises the role of women in men's lives. In the same breath, he warns men to be careful in the face of HIV and AIDS. This is what the persona says:

	<b>Maruva enyika</b>	<b>Flowers of the nation</b>
70	...Maruva enyika vanasikana.	Women are flowers of the nation.
71	...Deno vasiko varume, nyika ino iri Yembavha nemhondi chete.	If it was not for them, this world would Be a violent place to live in.
72	...Chenjera poizeni yakadhirwa mutsime Rinonwiwa nemhunhu wese. (Leonard Zhakata, 2006 )	Be careful the communal well was Poisoned.

From the metaphors Zhakata uses it can be construed that he celebrates what he views to be the complementary and stabilising role of women on men. As far as he is concerned, if women were not there, the world would not be a better place to live in, *Deno vasiko nyika ino izere mbavha nemhondi chete* “Had it not been for them this world would be for thieves and murderers”. Reference to a world full of thieves and murderers is both literal and metaphorical. According to the persona, women have a calming effect on men, which suggests that women have a stabilising role on men. This is because women have an aesthetic value in men’s lives since “they make the country beautiful”. “They are flowers of the nation” *Maruva enyika*, they dress well and “make the environment beautiful”, Leonard Zhakata, however, warns the audience to “be careful the communal well was poisoned” implicitly suggesting that women could be vectors of disease.

Leonard Zhakata uses metaphors to describe and evaluate men and women in both negative and positive terms. At first he eulogises womanhood but later in the same song castigates them for being the source of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, “poisoned well”. According to Ellece (2013), metaphorical gender constructions are not always negative or positive which indicates that there is no monopoly of masculinity. Although in the song “flowers of the nation” women are celebrated for their role in men’s lives Zhakata subtly accuses them of being vectors of disease, “communal well is poisoned”. On the other hand, Leonard Zhakata uses metaphors to represent men’s lives as only made whole or complemented and made worthy by women. It may be argued that even in predominantly patriarchal societies such as Zimbabwe (Gelfand. 1987), metaphors are not therefore, always used to reinforce dominant gender views but can also subvert or sanction some of the views.

This section has established that musicians sometimes use metaphors in Shona song lyrics to denigrate women in order to persuade audiences to view them as different or less human. This narrative does not have a free reign as some musicians use metaphors to counter such discourses. This suggests absence of masculinity discourses monopoly over other discourses. The next section explores how metaphors are used to construct gender within the context of inheritance, estate and divorce rights.

### **5.3.3 Gendered metaphors in songs that focus on inheritance, estate and divorce rights**

Inheritance, estate and divorce rights constitute some of topical issues that attract attention from Zimbabwean musicians singing in Shona. It is inevitable that in involving themselves in some of the debates tread carefully lest what they say invokes a backlash. In that regard, a metaphor becomes an appropriate tool for the musicians to highlight and comment on the debates. This section explores some of the metaphors used by the musicians to capture these debates and also highlight and contribute gender views. To explore the use of gendered metaphors in these debates this section focuses on Oliver Mtukudzi, Edith weUtonga and Steve Makoni songs.

Shona musicians have not been immune to social conflicts and debates that affect the Zimbabwean society. The topical issues that musicians have commented on is inheritance, distribution and property stripping that follows a death of a spouse or divorce. Although the Zimbabwean law generally provides relative property, inheritance and divorce rights for men and women, relatives from both sides can still deny the deceased man's wife or a man deny a former wife the right to some property. Despite the existence of such laws as Marriages Act (chapter 5) of 2015, relatives still have ways of arm twisting the surviving spouse, especially women to let go of the property, for example, refusal to dispose of the deceased clothes or refusing to support claims of an unregistered marriage (Gelfand, 1987). These issues and

conflicts become subject of Shona songs. Musicians such as Oliver Mtukudzi, Pamhidzai Mbirimi and Edith weUtonga use metaphors to capture these topical issues in relation to gender.

In the song *Neria*, the persona comforts a widowed woman who after the death of her husband is subject to abuse by her late husband's relatives. The persona implores the woman to be strong. This is what the persona says through the following selected metaphors in some of the lyrics:

<b>Neria</b>	<b>Neria</b>
73 Vanhukadzi vanobatwa senhapwa	Women are treated like slaves
74 Kugara senherera.	They live like orphans.
75 Usaore moyo ka Neria	Do not lose heart , Neria.
76 Mwari anewe.	God is with you.
78 Ngwarira mhupo yezviedzo.	Watch out for temptations.
<i>(Oliver Mtukudzi, 1993)</i>	

According to the persona, women are treated as “slaves” and “live like orphans”. Reference to slaves is used to connote that while women contribute towards wealth creation in families they have no legal status to claim what they produce like a slave enjoys no legal rights. The Oxford Dictionary (2010: 1340) describes a slave as, “a person who is the property of another person and whose labour (and sometimes whose life) is subject to the owner’s volition”. What Mtukudzi is discursively highlighting is how the Shona culture disempowers married women in the event that their husbands die before them. The metaphor, “they live like orphans” also captures the status of women in the society at the time. Taken metaphorically living like an orphan suggest that women have no power in marriage. The metaphors in the song picture a greedy relative who upon the death of the woman’s husband grabs property from the surviving female spouse. What Mtukudzi implies is that women do not have rights that entitle them to

inherit property left behind by deceased spouses, rights enjoyed by their male counterparts in the event of a female partner dying. Though Zimbabwean laws now protect women from such unfair treatment the cultural practice which remains largely the patriarchal system makes it difficult for women to inherit their husband's estate without hassles. The Shona culture makes minimal recognition of the contribution made by the female partner in acquiring wealth in a family (Gelfand, 1987). The same happens with an orphan who cannot enjoy the same benefits as other children in the adopting family. In Zimbabwe, some marriages are customary and often a deceased's property is distributed using the customary practice. When that happens the surviving spouse, who is a woman, may lose property to greedy relatives. The use of these metaphors presents an apt description of the struggle of women in the Shona society, which remains largely patriarchal. The metaphors persuasively speak about women's marginalisation and asymmetrical power relations that benefit men (Lazar, 2007). The metaphors present a strong case for the Shona society to reflect on some of the cultural practices. Through the metaphors, Mtukudzi sensitively represents women as victims of a patriarchal society and advocate for change in the rights of women. According to him, the fight to be heard is not an easy battle and women should not give up.

Mtukudzi consoles the woman through the metaphors *usaore moyo ka Neria* "Do not lose heart, Neria" which is literally put across as "allowing your heart to rot" in other words meaning that she should not despair or allow her dispossession to be the source of health problems. The literally the persona pleads with the bereaved sister not to lose one's heart, as he puts it, "allow her heart to rot", which means, "to despair". This forces the audience to imagine what the effect of a rotten heart would be to the health of the individual. It is a sign of a disease that would eventually result in an individual's death. On the other hand, the metaphor "God is with you" gives encouragement to women facing similar challenges to view their problems as solvable.

Besides its literal meaning, by referring to God, Mtukudzi metaphorically suggests that even though there could be challenges, there is hope for that society will eventually change for the better. Thus, metaphors encourage women to view their marginalised circumstances as changeable. Charteris-Black (2004) argues that metaphors appeal to cognition as well as emotions in their attempt to persuade. In that sense, Mtukudzi uses metaphors to persuade people to take note and act.

Inheritance issues are also a subject of Edith We Utonga in her song *Nhaka* “Inheritance” (2015). Metaphors used in the song deal with gender and property rights after the death of a male spouse. In the song, the persona laments the death of her husband and the subsequent dispossession and eviction from her family home.

<b>Nhaka</b>	<b>Inheritance</b>
79 Kufirwa imhosva here?	Is losing a husband a crime?
80 Zvamatora musha	You grabbed my home.
81 Mati tosara payi.	You made us homeless.
82 Pfuma yose makatora	You have grabbed all the wealth.
83 Vana vangu vofire musanga	My children are homeless.
<i>(Edith weUtonga, 2015)</i>	

The persona, who is now a widow wonders if “losing a husband is a crime” *kufirwa imhosva here*. She asks because her deceased husband has “grabbed her home” *kutora musha* and all the family wealth, *pfuma yose*. “Grabbing her home”, *kutora musha* and grabbing the wealth *pfuma* left behind intimates forcibly taking the home and the wealth and not inheriting the family, which would suggest customary entitlement (Gelfand, 1987).

WeUtonga is drawing attention to controversial practices where relatives have sometimes forcibly taken a deceased brother’s property. Although they have often claimed that culture



allows them to do so, she argues that the practice is based on malice and pure greed. The Shona culture allows inheritance of a brother's property under strict conditions. For instance, a man could inherit a deceased brother's family property only if he has accepted the proposal to be husband to the sister-in-law. This has however, been abused or overtaken by developments in Zimbabwean society. For instance, the AIDS scourge has made it difficult for wife inheritance, which is one of the conditions that a relative had to meet to be allowed to enjoy a deceased brother's property (Gelfand, 1987). Greed has often led the deceased male spouse's relatives to take "his" property using force arguing that it is their brother's property. The Shona culture recognises that a man is the head of a family and manages the family property as a trustee (Gelfand, 1987). As head of the family, a man is expected to be responsible and not to do as he pleases contrary to claims by those who have little knowledge of the complexity of the Shona culture. Even in traditional Shona societies wanton grabbing of relative's family property was discouraged. This is what Edith We Utonga highlights and attacks through the selected metaphors. We Utonga sees no justification in her brother-in-law grabbing the "family home" *musha* and "wealth", *pfuma*. She laments her family "will forever be homeless" *ndofire musango* that is "dying in the forest" put literally. The "forest" here is not literal but is used to imply that the family is now going to be "homeless".

Edith we Utonga's lyrics are metaphorical as she uses them to expose how the abuse of power differential in inheritance practices marginalises women in the Zimbabwe society. When something is "grabbed" *kutora*, it suggests the use of force. This takes a swipe at men who seek to benefit materially from a deceased brother's wealth. Her metaphors persuasively present women's circumstances in inheritance practices as unfair to them and their children. She challenges the patriarchal practice where men have claimed entitlement to a relative's property. *Babamukuru* "brother-in-law" is constructed and evaluated through the metaphors

as powerful and deriving that power from a patriarchal system. Disempowerment due to death of a spouse is one area that Zimbabwean musicians capture through gendered metaphors. Edith weUtonga uses metaphor to appropriate power to challenge patriarchal dominance located in a cultural practice of inheritance. Through the song, We Utonga exposes power relations imbued in cultural practice, which disadvantage women (Setyono and Wahyuni, 2012). Therefore, metaphors used in the song contribute to gender empowerment by exposing women's oppression and encouraging society to reflect inheritance practice. The effect of the communication is to persuade the audience to take action and act on the unfair practices.

In the song *Handiende* “I won’t go”, Steve Makoni (1994) uses metaphors to highlight and comment on the vulnerability of women in divorce settlements. In the song, Makoni chronicles the reaction of a woman threatened by divorce. The husband is initiating divorce proceedings, which the woman is resisting. She suggests that if he wants to marry another woman he can go ahead but she is not going anywhere. The following metaphors in the lyrics capture the conversation between the woman and the man:

<b>Handiende</b>	<b>I won't go</b>
84 Musha wandinoziva ndeuno uyu.	This is the only home I know.
85 Dikita nemisodzi zvakaerera.	We worked long hours in sweltering heat.
86 Kusvika wandiudza pandimire chaipo	Until you tell me where I really stand, I will
Ipo kuenda handiende.	Not go
Kana vari mainini ngavauye togara	
87 tose	If it is another woman, we ‘ll live together
88 Ndogarira vana vangu	I will stay for the sake of my children.
<i>(Steve Makoni, 1994)</i>	

Makoni states that *musha wandinoziva ndeuno uyu* “The only home I know is this one” *Dikita nemisodzi zvakaerera* “sweat and tears flowed” for us to have the home and that if *kana vari mainini togara tose*, “If you it is because of another woman, we will live together”. When the woman says, “the only home I know is this one” she means there is no other family for her now except the family they now have together. The word *musha* “home” metaphorically includes

the family and wealth they have created. Therefore, for the husband to say go back to your family is rather awkward. She reminds the husband that together they “worked long hours in sweltering heat” to create the home and family literally put as, “sweat and tears flowed”. “Sweat and tears” are mapped on to the work they undertook to emphasise that the two spouses toiled and sometimes enduring difficulties to get where they are now in terms of material wealth. She is however, compromising when she suggests she is willing to accept polygamy “If it is another woman let her come, we will live together” and she ... “will stay for the sake of my children”. Makoni uses these metaphors to expose the vulnerability and powerlessness of women in marriages. The Shona marriage practices allow a man to claim the family wealth in the event of divorce. He also highlights how women have been forced to accept polygamy for fear of losing everything in a divorce settlement. In this song, Makoni uses metaphors not only to highlight the bad customary laws in the Shona divorce practices but to also evaluate and expose them as discriminatory. The metaphors subtly suggest the inherent unfairness in the practices. For instance, that when it comes to divorce customary laws and practices do not recognise the contribution of the woman to family wealth. The metaphors implicitly persuade the audience to reflect on the vulnerability and desperation of women in Zimbabwe when it comes to divorce settlements

Gendered metaphors in songs that focus on inheritance, estate and divorce rights highlight, describe, interpret and evaluate men and women relationships in relation to property rights in the event of death or divorce of a spouse. The metaphors capture the Shona marriage values and practices. For instance, how the Shona cultural practices disempower women in inheritance and divorce settlements. They particularly expose how widowed women are treated unfairly when they divorce or when the husband dies. According to the practices captured through the metaphors, discrimination cascades down to the family level where inheritance favours male

relatives as evidenced by brothers-in-law who have some times used Shona customs to disempower a deceased's family. Through the metaphors, the musicians challenge the fairness of the customs that allow the widow to be lose family wealth to her deceased husband's family. Metaphors used in these songs are not only persuasive but also mobilise the audience to reflect on the highlighted cultural practices. This affirms the view that discourse does not only reinforce hegemony but can also subvert it for the benefit of the oppressed or marginalised (Charteris –Black, 2004; Ellece, 2012, Fairclough, 2005) The next section focuses on metaphors that capture domestic violence resulting from interactions in family settings.

### 5.3.4 Gendered metaphors in songs that focus on domestic violence

This section explores metaphors used in Shona song lyrics to comment on gender violence in Zimbabwe. Music artists singing in Shona have added their voices in highlighting gender violence in Zimbabwe. Metaphors are used to capture and comment on gender violence arising from relationships at different levels in families. Oliver Mtukudzi, Steve Makoni and Pamhidzai Mbirimi use metaphors to describe, interpret, evaluate and debate issues related to domestic violence.

In the song *Tozeza Baba*, “we are fearful of father” Oliver Mtukudzi uses the metaphor to describe the atmosphere of fear that pervade the home of a violent and abusive husband and father. The children, who are the persona, chronicle the domestic violence that takes place under the guise of drunkenness. The children associate the father home coming with beatings and verbal abuse meted on their mother. The children sing:

	<b>Tozeza baba</b>	<b>We are fearful of father</b>
89	Baba manyanya kurova ma,	Father, you repeatedly beat mother'
90	Kutuka mai.	You emotionally abuse mothe.r
91	...Tozeza baba.	We are fearful of fathe.r
92	...Moti isu vana tofara seyi kana mai	How do you expect us to be happy when

<p>93    Vachichema pameso pedu.            ...Voti ponda hako ndifire vana            Vangu.            (<i>Oliver Mtukudzi, 2005</i>)</p>	<p>Mother is crying in our presence.          She says she is willing to die for the saker          Of us.</p>
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The song title “we are fearful of father” is itself a metaphor. The children are not referring to fear in the literal. What the children are referring to is much more than being afraid of the father as it alludes to the oppressive atmosphere his coming home creates. The children have come to dislike the father instead of loving him. The title also imputes that the violent nature of the father creates an atmosphere of trepidation. The children are concerned about the “repeated beatings” meted out to their mother. They are doubtful that drunkenness causes the abuse as they ask, “Is it really beer that makes you beat mother”, which literally put across as, “Is it beer that says mother should be beaten”. A father, in a family, is someone that the wife and the children should relate to and look forward to having around. The behaviour of the father has altered that expectation as he causes anguish and emotional suffering in the family. This makes the children question the father, “How do you expect us to be happy when mother cries in our presence” which metaphorically intimates that the children are affected emotionally by the violence. The artist in an implicit way suggest that a father should be a symbol of protection and children should not fear him but rather respect him. If the father becomes the author of violence, it makes them dread his homecoming and presence.

Released in 2005, the song represents Oliver Mtukudzi’s response to domestic violence. At the time, Zimbabwe was facing economic turmoil with heavy job losses on farms due to farm invasions, Economic Structural Adjustment Programme and inflationary pressures following the poor performance of the economy. In such circumstances, it is not unusual for domestic violence to flare up and vulnerable groups such as females and children to suffer at the hands of the male members of the family. Mtukudzi thus through the metaphors, blames males for

abusing women and children physically *kurova* “beating” and mentally through verbal abuse *kutuka mai* “scolding the mother”. Oliver Mtukudzi captures the desperation of abused women who some times lose their lives by enduring abusive marriages, “She says she is willing to die for the sake of us”. The woman is a victim of a larger conspiracy by the Shona society culture, which has taught married women to sometimes accept occasional beatings from husbands as part of the marriage package (Gelfand, 1987). Underlying the metaphoric expressions is the conceptual metaphor, MEN ARE VIOLENT. MEN ABUSE WOMEN AND CHILDREN. Here Mtukudzi use metaphors to denigrate men deliberately. This is ideological as the representations departs from the patriarchal representation of men as strong and unemotional. The man in the song is instead projected as weak and emotionally unstable to fail to handle economic pressures bearing on the society. The metaphors also highlight the vulnerability of women and children to domestic violence in times of economic turmoil. In an implicit way, Mtukudzi is saying to the audience, here is someone whom the family should look up to for protection but the family now needs protection from him. Mtukudzi wants his audience to side with women who are exposed to domestic violence. His ultimate aim is thus, to persuade the audience to view men as having weaknesses that do make them better than women.

The metaphors, besides exposing domestic gender violence as perpetrated by males on women and children, they also project power relations in families. Men are projected as abusing physical power under the guise of being inebriated at the same time representing women as powerless victims of physical and mental abuse from men. The metaphors construct men as authors of violence contrary to how Paul Matavire sometimes paints men as victims of women in some of his songs (see analysis of the song, “Entertainment full time”). Ideologically Mtukudzi’s metaphors foreground domestic violence as mostly men initiated, women and children being victims. Through the metaphors, Mtukudzi identifies men as authors of domestic

violence which they have no valid excuse for. Mtukudzi therefore utilises gendered metaphors in this song, not only to construct men who perpetrate domestic violence as actually weak, abusive and cowardly thus debunking the myth that men are the stronger sex when it comes to emotional intelligence. Treading carefully through the sensitive issue of how women and men should relate Mtukudzi thus utilises metaphors to warn and conscientise both women and men about domestic violence. Instead of celebrating men who beat their wives, he persuades the audience to perceive it as a weakness as opposed to valourising such men (Chiweshe and Bhatasar, 2013).

In the song, “A home cannot be run using violence” *haitongwe nedemo* a woman is complaining about the illtreatment she is getting from her husband. This is what the woman says:

<b>Haitongwe nedemo</b>	<b>A home cannot be run using violence</b>
94 Handina kuvinga mota.	I did not marry you for material things.
95 Rudo harutengwe nemari/nendarama.	Money cannot buy love.
96 Imba haitongwe nedemo.	A home cannot be run using by violence.
97 Hona mavanga ndiwe unondirova.	These scars came from you.
98 Shamwari idzo dzinokunyepera.	Friends mislead you.
<i>(Pamhidzai Mbirimi, 2018)</i>	

A close analysis of the literal translation of the song “A home cannot be run by using violence” reveals the abuse of a man’s role as head of a family. The husband “uses force to reign” *Kutonga*, which connotes presiding over like a king reigns his subjects. The axe in the literal translation” to reign using an axe” is symbolises threats violence. When Pamhidzai says *imba haitongwe nedemo* “A home cannot be run using violence”, she implies that a man cannot resort to using violence to settle domestic disputes. This implies that sometimes men resort to

physical power to get women to do what they want them to do. The metaphors persuasively cast men as abdicating responsibilities and quick to resort to violence when asked to account.

Pamhidzai Mbirimi accuses men of being authors of domestic violence through her choice of metaphors in the song *Haitongwe ne demo*, “A home cannot be run using violence” which itself is a metaphor connoting that the husband cannot use violence to settle domestic disputes. She rejects the traditional view that a married woman should be content if a man provides for her. Instead, she demands love from the man, thus, rejecting the material things that the man thinks she should be grateful for, “money cannot buy love” which implicitly, declares that she is not “materialistic” or as she puts it across “I did not come for a car”. In support of this view, Koller (2004b) observes that in contemporary societies, women now look beyond the material satisfaction to demand individual satisfaction in marriage. Pamhidza Mbirimi also rejects the narrative that women are dependent on men when she states, “even if you are not there, I will survive” implicitly therefore projecting women as capable of taking care of themselves. Thus proclaiming that she can be independent challenges the patriarchal view that women need men to support them materially and emotionally.

The metaphors used by Pamhidzai Mbirimi in the song thus, do not just project men as violent but also constitute a rejection of traditional values of marriage by women. The persona in the song rejects the substitution of individual satisfaction with material things such as “a car” and “money”. This constitutes a clear indication of the changing values of marriage. Implied by the artist is that women demands now go beyond material things symbolised by cars and money. Metaphors in the song therefore implicitly challenge the status quo and negotiate power for women. The metaphors also project women as victims of gender violence and men as perpetrators of the violence. Underlying the linguistic metaphors is the conceptual metaphor



MAN ARE BULLIES as evidenced by the man in the song who uses physical power to respond to disagreements with the woman. It is clear from the metaphors that the man brooks no challenge to his authority by the woman. This is despite being hardly at home and having no good explanation for the absence. The woman complains of beatings that have left her with “scars”. Such metaphors are meant to elicit an emotive response in the audience. In this way, the artist uses metaphors to highlight and comment the subject of gender violence. Being a woman herself, Pamhidzai Mbirimi gives voice to women by speaking against domestic violence and demanding change in marriage values. These metaphors, therefore, do not only expose domestic violence but also conscientise and mobilise women in similar abusive relationships to take action.

The song *Mwanangu*, “My child” by Steve Makoni also projects gender violence as not limited to men on women but male children can also be violent towards parents. Steve Makoni projects a situation where children, especially male children, physically abuse their parents. In the song, the persona sings about a father who is complaining about a son who has the audacity to him back. This is what he says in the selected lyrics below:

	<b>Mwanangu</b>	<b>My child</b>
99	Ndiwe here ungava watse mbama.	Is it really you, who is beating your father?
100	Ndini ndakakubereka kutsika ivhu Re Zimbabwe zvakabva kuneni.	I created you to be what you are today.
101	Ndiwe here wekubereka Kumisidzana neni zvibhakerwa.	Is it you really my child, fighting me?
102	Simba rese rauyi naro rakabva Muneni.	All the power you possess came from me.
	<i>( Steve Makoni, 1992)</i>	

Using the metaphor *kuwatsa mbama* in the lyric *ndiwe here mwana wekubereka ungava watse mbama*, “Is it you really, my own child to slap me”. Literally, *kuwatsa mbama* means, “To

beat someone using an open palm”. The parent is shocked that his own child has the temerity to challenge him. The act is taboo in the Shona culture, although it is sometimes possible for a child to beat parents or engage a parent in a fistfight (Gelfand, 1987). To emphasise this, the persona in Makoni song, “My child” says “Is it you really my child, fighting me back”. The metaphors are thus, used to paint a picture of cultural erosion to the extent that children especially male ones are morally bankrupt to the point of challenging parents.

Underlying the use of these gendered metaphorical expressions is that DOMESTIC VIOLENCE TRANSCENDS GENDER OR RELATIONS. This conceptual metaphor challenges the popular view that domestic violence targets women and children. Makoni is arguing implicitly through the metaphors that domestic violence is not limited to male-on-female violence but also involves male-on-male violence. For instance, when a child challenges the authority of a male parent. In this way, men are represented as not always powerful in all situations as stereotypically suggested by masculine discourses, thus demystifying the superiority of men over women. This concurs with the assertion that gendered metaphorical discourse, in particular, can be used to challenge popular or contemporary narratives of certain perspectives (Nhlekisana, 2013; Butler, 1990; Fairclough, 2005). In the Shona culture, having a physical confrontation in whatever form with either of the parents is taboo. However, this is not to say that it will never happen despite the existence of cultural sanctions. It can be argued that by using these metaphors, Steve Makoni challenges contemporary views that claim that domestic violence only targets women and children.

In discussing violence, musicians highlight authors of domestic violence and the various forms that violence takes. The metaphors used identify men as perpetrators of domestic violence and women and children generally being the victims. The selected musicians represent domestic

violence as assuming physical, mental and sexual forms. Apart from providing entertainment, gendered metaphors become very powerful tools that discursively represent gender perspectives. This firmly gives lyrical discourse an ideological function. Thus, the metaphors in the Shona songs assume not only an ideological but also a rhetorical function of the metaphors. The next section explores gendered metaphors in songs that focus on social roles and identities.

### **5.3.5 Gendered metaphors in songs that focus on social roles and identities**

This section focuses on metaphors that musicians use to identify women and men roles in different settings. Some identities are evident in names used by the musician to describe or ascribe attributes to the two genders. To explore the various identities and roles associated with men and women relationships the section focuses on songs from Steve Makoni, Prince Musarurwa, Pamhidzai Mbirimi, Oliver Mtukudzi and Prudence Katomeni.

The selected artists show evidence of use of gendered metaphors to capture men and women roles and identities. The metaphors ascribe certain attributes to the two genders to persuade audiences to view women and men as different, unequal or equal. Gendered social roles refer to behaviours associated with women or men in different contexts. While these roles are fluid, they describe, interpret and evaluate men and women in ways that are rhetorical. Gendered social identities refer to aspects that define people in terms of which gender the individual belongs to (Deaux, 2001:3). Social roles and identities in Shona metaphorical discourse are ideological because they encourage audiences to evaluate men and women in ways preferred by the musician. In other words, the metaphors that describe the roles and identities perform gender as they socialise people to adopt gendered behaviours associated with men and women

(Butler, 1990). Metaphorical names therefore, are a tool that represent the Shona expectations on gender.

Steve Makoni in his song *Mhou yangu*, “My woman” in which he pleads and threatens prospective suitors and other men to keep off his girlfriend or wife using the following metaphors to name and describe his wife or girlfriend. This is what he says in the song:

	<b>Mhou yangu</b>	<b>My woman</b>
103	Mhou yangu varume hatidyidzane.	My woman, gentlemen, we do not share.
104	Fura neyako ini ndofura neyangu Nekoko.	Look after your woman and I will look After mine.
105	Mhou yangu ikasisa ndoikama ndega.	When she needs a man I will be there For her.
106	Pane zvisingadyidzanwe varume.	Some things cannot be shared.
	<i>(Steve Makoni, 1998)</i>	

He refers the woman he is in love with as a *mhou*, “cow” in the lyrics, “My cow gentlemen we don’t share”, “when it is ready to be milked I will milk it myself”, “gentlemen I will graze my heifer”. By referring to women as cows and heifers, Makoni is not being literal. A cow, for instance, refers to an adult female domesticated bovine that has calved. When it is used to refer to a woman it amusingly suggests an unpleasant or unattractive woman who has given birth and is considered nasty, fat, stupid, and lazy or difficult. Heifer, *tsiru*, is a domesticated bovine that has not calved making its use connote a sexually unexploited young woman. “Ready to be milked” *kusisa* has sexual connotations of a woman who is ready to have sex. Steve Makoni means much more when warns other men keep away from his woman, “look after your woman and I will look after mine”. “Looking after” has sexual connotations as he has already warned them in the context “to graze their cows” and “he will graze his”. Grazing and looking after imply meeting sexual demands of his woman, which he feels, should never be a shared activity.

The descriptive names are not complimentary as they are value-laden. Rapoo (2002) argues that names ideologically may deny or ascribe agency by attributing certain characteristics to men and women in ways that reinforce or subvert hegemonic discourses. Steve Makoni's descriptions and naming are anatomical thus representing women as sexual objects enjoyed by men. For instance, he refers to having sex with a woman as 'eating her'. The metaphor appeals strongly to an audience that understands how cuckolding another man is viewed in the Shona culture. It is considered the height of disrespect that can be shown to another man. In politics, it has been noted that derogatory metaphors have the effect of eliciting absurd images to ridicule opponents (Kuo, 2003) and if parallels can be drawn, their effect in music is similar. Referring to women as cows would make them appear to be less human. The metaphor *ndoikama ndega*, "I will milk it myself" is descriptively gendered and gendering as it implicates that men in love consider women they are in love with or married to as priced possessions, which they are not ready to share with other men. Regarding a woman as something that is possessed points to asymmetrical power relations as women cannot claim the same. The metaphor, "there are things that cannot be shared," put across literally as "Certain things cannot be eaten together" buttress the metaphor that WOMEN ARE FOOD and having sex with a woman is "eating her" which further emphasises that women are considered as sex objects in the Shona society. This concurs with Hines' (1996b) observation that to deny women equal status dominant discourses degrade and represent them as animals that are pursued, possessed and eaten. The repeated use of such metaphors inculcates the view that women are less human than men are and therefore reinforce the subordinate position they occupy in society (Foucault, 1980; Butler, 1990; Lazar, 2005). The song provides an example of how gendered metaphors are used discursively in song to cause audiences to make certain conclusions about the female gender.

Prince Musarurwa also uses metaphorical names and descriptions to discursively project and construct gendered identities and social roles of women and men. In the Song, “who is the boss” *Ndiyani Jongwe*, the persona questions the behaviour of his wife, which he views to be unbecoming of a married woman:

<b>Ndiyani Jongwe?</b>	<b>Who is the head of the family?</b>
107 Ndiyani jongwe pamusha pano?	Who is the cockerel of the family?
108 Jongwe rinokukuridza pamusha pano.	The head, in charge in this home.
109 Hugogodera here, kana hunhubu, hugube Here zvimwe hundururani?	Is it your personality that makes you Challenge my authority.
<i>(Prince Musarurwa, 2013)</i>	

The persona rhetorically asks in a literal way “Who is cockerel of the family?” meaning “who rules the roost?” in response to what he views as errant behaviour of his wife. The cockerel is used metaphorically to mean the person in charge or the boss. Literally, a cockerel is in charge of a roost so when the persona asks, “who is the cockerel?” he is rhetorically asking “who is head of the family?” Drawing from the power matrix symbolised by the cockerel being in charge, the persona buttresses this, when he further says, “the cockerel that crows” which asserts power ascribed to the husband. The metaphors highlight and emphasise the positions that men occupy in marriages. Implicitly suggested is that women are “hens and chicks” hence the man in the song feels disrespected by the woman whom he refers to as exhibiting *hugogodera* “unmanageable behaviour”. The persona again asks whether it is “unmanageable behaviour, immorality, slyness, or probably incorrigibility” characteristic of some notorious individuals that has afflicted the wife. The persona via these metaphors expresses his mistrust of the woman (accuses her of slyness) and cannot fathom what has become of her. According to him, the wife has abandoned her wifely duties and roles contrary to the Shona cultural

expectations of marriage. He is completely astounded as he views the behaviour as unimaginable. He even suspects that the woman could be cheating him with another man...

The metaphors utilised by Prince Musarurwa in the song “Who is the head (cockerel) of the family?” reassert the cultural position of a man as the person in charge of a family. The persona finds exception to the wife’s behaviour because he feels that she is abdicating her role and responsibilities. According to the persona, the wife goes and comes as she feels like. Apart from exhibiting this behaviour the man suspects, that she could be seeing another man behind his back or that she has just become wild and uncontrollable. It is clear, therefore, that Prince Musarurwa highlights what he sees as appropriation of power by modern women against the Shona society’s expectations. The metaphors in the song firmly defend patriarchal privileges that men are supposed to enjoy thus legitimising the privileges (Van Dijk, 1995). At the same time, the woman in the song, who is denied agency, is representing a certain breed of women who have the audacity to go against cultural expectations regarding women and men relationships. Metaphors here are utilised to lampoon what Musarurwa views as deviant behaviour, which is opposed to a subordinate woman who is docile and defers to the authority of the husband (Lopez, 2009). The intended effect of such descriptions and evaluation of women who act out side what Prince Musarurwa considers to be out side the “norm” is to persuade the audience to conclude that cultured women defer to their husbands. The lyrics appear as merely potraying a wayward woman, but underlying them, is a serious debate about where power should reside in families. The metaphors also constitute an attack of the trending discourses that preach equality between sexes. These metaphors thus, subtly advocate for a return to the traditional roles of men and women therefore rhetorically defending patriarchy and presenting an alternative order as represented by the woman as abnormal.

Oliver Mtukudzi is one of the musicians who make use of metaphors in his lyrical discourse to engage and speak to his audiences on values and roles that men and women should play in society. Mtukudzi uses metaphors to represent firmly various identities and engage his audiences. This allows him to construct or deconstruct particular gender notions and attitudes. In the song *Tapera*, “we are dying” in which he speaks through the persona, he bemoans the deaths of Zimbabweans and many other people in the world due to the HIV and AIDS epidemic.

<b>Tapera</b>	<b>We are dying</b>
110 Varume vakuru	Grown up men
111 Munenge pwere seyi.	Why are you like toddlers?
112 Rega kuvarairwa, rega kuyeverwa.	Do not get carried away.
113 Ndoona wobate musoro, wobate musana	I watch dance with abandon the midst of
Pakati pemhandara.	Young women.
<i>(Oliver Mtukudzi: 2016)</i>	

Mtukudzi speaks of “grown men”, acting like “toddlers” “dancing with abandon” “in the midst of virgins”. Mtukudzi pointedly paints a picture of old men (big men) who are morally and culturally depraved and abusive of young women. What Mtukudzi implicitly suggests is that the men he refers to lack of *Unhu/Ubuntu* as they should be protecting the young girls they are abusing. *Unhu/Ubuntu* is a Bantu philosophy of humanness whose tenets include the belief that oshould do unto others what one would like them to do to him or her. By referring to the young women as *mhandara*/virgins Mtukudzi connotes the innocence and immaturity of the young “girls” who should be protected by the old men abusing them. The underlying conceptual metaphor is that IMMORALITY/LACK OF UNHU/UBUNTU drives moral decadence and ultimately leads to social malaise such as HIV and AIDS. It is from this underlying conceptual metaphor that “big men you are like toddlers” characterises the irresponsibility demonstrated by older men in society. The intended rhetorical effect is to create mental images of what



happens at places of entertainment by highlighting sexual and power abuse thus representing men as not the stereotypical super heroes of society as nuanced by patriarchy. Using these gendered metaphorical identities; Mtukudzi is persuading his audience to view loss of morals as one of the problems driving HIV and AIDS.

In the song, *Kuonererwa/Being Flashy/pompous* Mtukudzi uses various metaphors that depict certain identities to persuade audiences to have a particular understanding of the masculine gender. In the song, Mtukudzi uses metaphor to represent persuasively, realities about what he labels as “young men of today” *zvikomana zvamazuva ano*. In the song, he uses the persona to identify and accuse the modern-day young man as socially pompous, lacking confidentiality, thieves, lazy and corrupt.

	<b>Kuonererwa</b>	<b>Being Pompous</b>
114	Zvikomana zvama zuva ano kugaro Fumura zviriri pamoyo.	Today's young men lack confidentiality.
115	Ukaona achipfachura hupfumi Hwenhaka.	They spend inherited wealth recklessly.
116	Pakuzoti ndine mari pano, mumota, Kumba nekubhengi.	They say they have money everywhere.
117	Ukaona achipfachura zvimwe Ndechekuba.	Money that is not earned is spent Wrecklessly.
118	Ndaiti kushanda inini. ( <i>Oliver Mtukudzi, 1995</i> )	I thought his money came from working.

Mtukudzi accuses “today's young men” modern crop of young men for “lacking confidentiality” to publicise intimate details about their lives, “they let out what is in their hearts”. According to the Shona people, the heart is where intimate details concerning one's life are supposed to be stored and only shared with close people. In Mtukudzi's view, the behaviour of the young men indicates a lack of depth in character. The metaphor, therefore, represents modern-day young men as indiscreet, which is an attribute normally ascribed to

women in the Shona culture. The young men are represented as “reckless spenders”, *kupfachura* which is not a compliment but attack on their character. According to Mtukudzi, the wealth they “recklessly spend” is either “stolen”, *zvimwe ndechekuba* or comes from “inheritance”, *ndezenhaka* thus painting the picture of a crop of young men who do not value hard work *cheziya hachipfuchrwe* “what is earned through sweat”. The young men brag about the money they have “in the car, at home and at the bank” to emphasise that they are rich.

Through the metaphors, Mtukudzi attacks a crop of modern-day young men in Zimbabwe as lacking *unhu/Ubuntu*, “humanness” a philosophy that emphasises that any individual is interdependent (Samkange and Samukange, 1982). He accuses the young men of living dishonest lives, not valuing hard work and being indiscreet. The metaphors, therefore, suggest that there has been cultural erosion gripping the society and contrary to traditional Zimbabwe stereotypes, men are not fairing well. Mtukudzi uses the metaphors to describe and evaluate modern-day young men, rhetorically exposing them as shady characters. Implicitly Mtukudzi focuses the audience on what is happening in the society where morals are no longer valued. It can be argued that the intended effect of such character qualities is to undermine the male gender that has all along been purveyed in discourse as superior to the female gender.

Pamhidzai Mbirimi discursively uses metaphors to construct gender in her song *Nemoyo*, “Heartily”, uses metaphor to represent identities of men and women. In the song *Nemoyo*, “Heartily”, the persona in the song, recalls the teachings that she received from her mother on how to treat a husband. This is what she says through selected lyrics and metaphors:

	<b>Nemoyo</b>	<b>Heartily</b>
119	Ndichikura mai vangu vakanditi murume Ndimambo.	Growing up my mother said to me, a Husband is a king.
120	Mabasa aanoshanda anorwadza kuitira iwe.	He works hard for your benefit.

121	Saka mupe rudo asati abuda.	Give him love before he leaves home.
122	Mupe rudo paanodzoka.	Give him love when he comes back.
123	Varume tinoda kudiwa kani.	Men, we want to be loved.
124	Varume munoda kudiwa ka, isu tinoda Kudiwa kani.	Men like to be loved; we also like to be Loved.

(*Pamidzai Mbirimi (Pachihera)*, 2016)

According to the persona, the mother taught her that, “a husband is a king”, connoting that in marriage the husband is not her equal. The reasons she gives to justify the unequal relations are captured in the metaphor, “he works hard for you”. The metaphor emphasises that she depends on her husband for survival. To show her gratitude the mother encourages her to, “give him love when he leaves home”, and “give him love when he returns home”. The metaphors have several connotations. They implicitly suggest that a woman should always be available to satisfy all the needs of her husband including those that are sexual. It could also imply that the wife should always be there to wait upon her husband. This could be referring to showing love for the husband by undertaking activities that endear her to him such as cooking for him, giving him food and many other things to make his life comfortable. The discourse subordinates women’s needs to men’s needs or to view women’s needs as confined to material security that stereotypically the men should provide in marriage. These metaphors construct a scenario where a married woman is there to pamper her husband. The man is supposed to be waited upon, spoilt with love because according to the mother, men control everything like “kings”. At the end of the song the persona amusingly states, *varume munoda kudiwa ka, isu tinoda kudiwa kani* “men like being loved, we also like being loved” It is evident that Pamhidzai utilizes metaphors to discursively attack gender roles and identities she was socialised into. The metaphors clearly depict an asymmetrical relationship through the roles and identities that are constructed by the metaphors. In the last metaphor, Pamhidzai Mbirimi, however, challenges men whom she implies want everything centred on them. Her feminist ideology is very clear; she contests gender conceptualisation that privileges patriarchy. She thus, rejects

the stereotypical woman the mother tries to create in her, which inculcates the notion that she is unequal to her husband, dependent on him and is only there to provide comfort for him. Pamhidzai's metaphorical discourse in this song confirms Van Dijk's (1995) view that while the powerful group appropriates discourse to legitimise its privileged status those who are victims of the group do not always acquiesce and can appropriate the same in order to challenge the status quo.

Paul Matavire refers to women as "sweet tongued", *vemazvi akatetepera sesadza remurwere* in the song *Dhiyaborosi nyoka* (the wicked woman) men glowingly *vanachizhonda mari* "those who spend money lavishly" (*Dhindindi full time*, Joy full time), *Adam*, the Biblical Adam. Matavire ascribes through naming coquettish behaviour in women by making reference to "their thin voices" *vemazwi akatetepera* which he compares to *sadza remurwere* "thin porridge meant for a sick person" "with sexy voices". These descriptive identities project women as seductive in their interaction with men. On the other hand, men to him are actually victims hence the name "Adam" and that money gives women power over men. Men like him are "big spenders". It can be inferred that metaphorical naming or labelling reflect the naming agent has culturally associated gender views. Matavire's metaphorical denigrate women's roles in society. His opinion is that women represent trouble and they make life difficult for men as they cannot be trusted. On the other hand, the male names imply that men enjoy life and women sometimes make it difficult. While these metaphorical names may appear to communicate individual gender views, they reflect gender notions in the musicians' culture or society (see Butler, 1996; Foucault 1977 (cited in Danaher Schirato and Webb, 2000)). The names therefore represent the two genders (masculine and feminine)

Prudence Katomeni also uses metaphors to construct male and female identities in her songs. In the song *BP Yangu Yakwira*, “My BP has shot up” which is a conversation between a wife and a husband, the woman bemoans the situation she finds herself in where her family is too big and she is finding it difficult to take care of the children.

	<b>BP yangu yakwira</b>	<b>My blood pressure has shot up</b>
125	BP yangu yakwira.	My blood pressure has shot up.
126	Kufunga zvakadzama pamusoro peupeyu	I am having serious thoughts about life.
127	Vana vacho ndovapeyiko?	How do I take care of the children?
128	Gore rino mabara mumwe gore rinouya Munovapeyiko?	The family is not planned, how will the Family live?
129	Nyarara kuchema shiri dzedenga Dzinorarama wani.	God will provide for them just like Creatures.
130	Mhuka dzesango dzinorarama wani.	Wild animals survive too.
	<i>(Prudence Katomeni, 2002)</i>	

The metaphors paint a sad picture of a family crisis. The woman has developed a health problem, where her body is failing to regulate blood pressure, “My blood pressure has shot up” implying that she is stressed and is now sick due to worrying, “deeply thinking about the way they are living. She is worried about the welfare of her many children because of the husband’s insists that they continue having children,” the family is not planned”. Literally, she states “This year I give birth, next year another one, what shall I give them” which implies that their family has not been planned because either the husband did not want to plan or he refused her advice.

A close analysis of the song indicates that Prudence Katomeni uses metaphors to expose the irresponsible and invidious roles of men captured in the songs alongside the woman. Prudence Katomeni implicitly suggests that the man in the song “My BP (high blood pressure) has shot up” is neglectful of the family. After deciding to have a large family, the man is not playing an active role in raising the children. The man chooses to take a casual approach imploring the woman not to worry for providence “wild animals survive too” will take care of everything.

The metaphors cast the man as irresponsible thereby debunking the myth that men provide for their families. The woman, on the other hand, shows that she is caring and responsible. As argued by Van Dijk 1995, Foucault 1977 and Butler (1990) hegemonic discourses do not have a free reign in its defense of patriarchy as it sometimes challenged. Through gendered metaphors in this song, Prudence Katomeni argues that men are not what they are they are sometimes thought to be.

In the song *Baba Bhoyi*, “My husband” the persona, who is a woman, complains about the treatment she is receiving from her husband. Apparently, the husband is neglecting the woman and the woman urges the man that they need to open up and talk to each about their problems. She sings:

<b>Baba Bhoyi</b>	<b>My husband</b>
131 Inga takapana chitsidzo chedu.	But we made a vow.
132 Baba Bhoyi wandiregerera.	My husband, you are neglecting me.
133 Baba Bhoyi ndabhoyikana.	My husband I am bored.
134 ...Tirivaviri tovaka mhuri yedu.	Let us build our family.
135 ...Handisi mujere.	I am not in jail.
136 ...Asi nyama inoneta, wandinetesa.	I’m physically drained, you have Over-used me

(Prudence Katomeni, 2002)

The second song utilises gendered metaphors again to persuasively speak on gender relations through the roles and identities of the characters in the song. The woman who is the personae bemoans that the man is breaking their marriage vow “We took an oath”. A vow where you swear holding a Bible is an indication of serious commitment made by partners when they get married and should not be trashed by not doing what one promised. In addition to not standing by his word, the husband is not taking care of the family (woman), “my husband you neglecting me” and she is on her own contrary to the vow “the two of us we build a family”. The woman claims that the neglect depresses her very much and denies her freedom “I’m not in jail”. The

persona sums up the abuse and neglect in the metaphor “the flesh tires, “You have made me tired” suggesting despair and giving up. What these gendered metaphors do is to pragmatically represent two genders involved here to construct contrasting identities for the couple in a marriage union. The man has abandoned his duties to the family leaving everything to the woman. While the woman has tried to make the relationship work, the man has not been playing his part. This presents the relationship as abusive both mentally and physically as the woman stresses because of the situation. Prudence Khatomeni thus, uses metaphors to highlight situations that women sometimes go through in their relationships with men. She uses metaphorical discourse to subvert masculine discourses to deconstruct hegemonic discourses.

Gendered metaphorical identities used by some musicians are not always negative. Mtukudzi in the song *Svovi yangu* “My special wife” refers to a previously neglected wife who is thanking her husband for finally realising her worth. She reminds the husband that she is “his children’s mother”, “his father’s mother” and “...the mother who gave birth to you all”. Mother here is not used in a literal sense. The woman is a mother to all, that is, a mother to the children, the man’s mother and mother to all. The meaning attached is that a woman is invaluable to the life of all human beings since every person comes from a woman.

The metaphorical names used by the musicians in Shona songs are gendered as they ascribe certain identities to men and women. The metaphors are both reflective of gender views in society and serve to inculcate gender views in the audiences. The identities and roles captured through the metaphors do not only discursively argue for certain views but also largely project negative evaluations of women. As asserted by Butler (1990) language provides a site in which those with power use it to naturalise their power and those without power similarly use metaphors to subvert the hegemonic dominance of the powerful.

## 5.4 Interviews

This section presents data derived from expert interviews. The data was used to enhance analysis of identified metaphors from the selected songs. The interviewees provided comments on the purpose of metaphors, values and norms they represent the intention of the musicians in using some metaphors and the gender debates the metaphors represent. The data were then used to revisit the initial analysis in order to enrich it.

### 5.4.1 Purpose of metaphors in Shona song lyrics

All five interviewees explained that metaphors allow musicians to say much in a few words.

**Interviewee One** explained that the Shona language is highly metaphorical and musicians tap into this culture. All the five interviewees observed that musicians show creativity through coming up with novel metaphors that are not just entertaining to the listening audience but help them understand difficult concepts. **Interviewee Two** pointed out that generally, musicians develop this style over time as evidenced by veteran musicians' music. **Interviewee Three** pointed out that metaphors are quite useful for musicians especially when the musicians are dealing with controversial topics or when the topic is considered taboo to talk about openly. According to the interviewee, if that happens metaphorical language would then allow a musician to argue that the lyrics are open to several interpretations.

### 5.4.2 Imbued values and norms in gendered metaphors

The interviewees pointed out that gendered metaphors are pregnant with cultural values of the Shona people. Interviewees identified such metaphors as *Varume ipwere vanotorezva sevana vacheche/* "Men are toddlers, they need lulling" and, *Mbereko yakaramba/* "I failed to conceive" by Marshall Munhumumwe, *Rudo harutengwe nemari/* "Money cannot buy love",



by Pamhidzai Mbirimi or *Mhou yangu* “My Cow”, by Steve Makoni are replete with cultural values regarding men and women relationships. According to **Interviewee One**, *Varume ipwere vanotorezva sevana vacheche* “Men are toddlers/teenagers they need constant attention”, speak to the role of a women in marriage and values she must uphold. The interviewee argued that Shona people have generally view a woman as the cog that drives the family, playing motherly roles even to the man. According to him, Shona culture places much value in procreation so much that they view marriage as consummated to primarily, to produce children. Therefore, according to **Interviewee Four** the emotional satisfaction through love is ancillary to the procreation role of spouses.

#### **5.4.3 Power relations captured by gendered metaphors**

According to the interviewees, gendered metaphors in Shona songs demonstrate gendered power relations. **Interviewee Two** pointed out that some metaphors enact power relations in Shona songs; he gave the example of Mtukudzi’s song *Tapera* “We are dying”, where Mtukudzi sings that *Murume mukuru wobate musana uri pakati pemhandara* where *murume mukuru* refers to a mature man by far older than the young girls (*virgins/mhandara*). The picture given is that of abusive sexual relations where young women are enticed into relationships through money. **Interviewee Two** further noted that considering the period when the song was released Mtukudzi must have been talking about the ‘sugar daddies’ phenomenon, where young women get into sexual relationships with older men in exchange of a good life with all catered for. **Interviewee One** also pointed out that metaphors are used to subtly suggest unequal power relations in song with the intention of presenting the relationship as what is the norm.

#### 5.4.4 Intended effect of metaphor in text

According to the interviewees, Zimbabwean musicians use metaphors in Shona song lyrics to make people understand abstract concepts and speak about what cannot be openly said in public, for example, sex. **Interviewee Five** pointed out those metaphors force audiences to visualise what the musician is talking about by making reference to what is known. He argued that metaphors could be used to rouse the audience's emotions on certain subjects, which encourage them to take action against whatever is being discussed without losing face. **Interviewee Two** observed that metaphors also leave the public to make their own interpretations thereby protecting the musician from a backlash from the authorities or the public. To buttress this point, she gave the example of a song called *Bvuma* "Accept" by Oliver Mtukudzi that had several interpretations with some saying it meant President Robert Mugabe continued stay in power and others saying it could apply to anyone behaving in ways that is unbecoming for someone of his age. **Interviewee One** pointed out that a metaphor can make someone evaluate some another person's behaviour /character without using many words. She gave the example of a situation where a man is called, "a dog", *imbwa*. In the context of discussing infidelity, the interviewee observed that it would imply the referred individual sleeps around a lot. **Interviewee Three** observed that metaphors have always been a facility in song that helps people to talk about sexuality without offending the audience in the Shona society.

#### 5.4.5 Gender debates captured by metaphors in Shona song lyrics

Interviewees generally pointed out that gender debates are ever evolving depending on the period under focus. **Interviewee Four** observed that Mtukudzi's songs in the late 1990s and 2000s tackled debates around HIV and AIDS and the impact it had on women and children. According to the interviewee, Mtukudzi adds his voice to debates around HIV and AIDS through the metaphors that he uses to describe the unequal relationships that hinder women to

negotiate for sex from a position of strength. The interviewee made reference to the song *Todii/* “What shall we do”, which he said metaphorically captures gender inequality as contributing to the spread of HIV and AIDS. He particularly dwelt on the lyric *Zvinorwadza seyi kubhinywa newaugere naye uchiziva unahwo hutachiona*. “How painful is it to be sexually abused by the one you live with knowing that you **are infected?**” **Interviewee Two** highlighted that metaphors have also been used in Shona song lyrics to highlight the abuse that women are exposed to through the so-called carpet interviews and corrupt practices for them to secure jobs. Older men also use money to entice young girls into sexual relationships. Other debates highlighted by the interviewees included the usefulness of child maintenance, cultural values and practices that continue to oppress women.

#### **5.4.6 Ideology and power relations in the songs**

Interviewees generally observed that several ideologies emerge from the Shona song lyrics. **Interviewee One** highlighted that patriarchal gender ideology is evident in most of the songs. According to her, some musicians whether consciously or unconsciously use metaphors to defend or challenge patriarchal values and beliefs. **Interviewee Five** pointed out there is a trend where metaphors used in the late 1980s indicate defense of patriarchal values that legitimised masculine dominance as natural. According to **Interviewee Three**, gendered metaphors in songs like *Rudo Imoto/* “Love is fire”, defend patriarchy though bemoaning the breakup of families as caused by women who would have abandoned traditional values and their roles in marriage. According to the interviewee, a trend that emerged from Zimbabwean music is that towards the late 1990s and 2000s there was a shift towards ideological positions that exposed asymmetrical power relations and extolled gender equality. **Interviewee Five** observed that lyrics in Shona songs generally discursively defended patriarchal dominance in subtler ways using linguistic tools like metaphors metaphors.

## 5.5 Conclusion

The chapter has presented gendered metaphors from selected Zimbabwean musicians. Most of the gendered metaphors identified are used in topics such as love, marriage, corruption, inheritance, estates topics, confirming that language is social. The musicians also use gendered metaphorical names to discursively project preferred views on gender. Generally, the metaphors reinforce asymmetric gender relations that favour men at the expense of women. Musicians project women in both negative and positive terms though most of the portrayal is negative. Women are projected as unequal to men, seductive, source of men's problems, inferior, women are appendages of men, marriage failures, dependant and men as naturally superior, pompous, childish, naturally endowed to look for other women if not satisfied by the woman at home, violent, driving the spread of HIV and AIDS due to irresponsible behaviour, morally bankrupt. Shona cultural values inherent in some metaphors include that marriage is children, a married woman needs to attract and re-attract a husband, older people should be protective towards the younger generation rather than abuse them, the Shona culture does not explicitly disapprove of men infidelity in the same way they do infidelity by a woman. Though the analysis was not meant to a comparative one there are, however noted that some musicians, regardless of their gender use gendered metaphors to subvert the dominant views, which are patriarchal. It can be argued that while some views carried by the metaphors are individual views, other views reflect the cultural values of the Shona people. Musicians also use gendered metaphors to, not only entertain, but to also expose, describe, interpret and evaluate the gender relations prevalent in the Zimbabwean society. Most of the metaphors are contextual as they capture ongoing debates in the Zimbabwean society, such as corruption, domestic gender violence and moral decay. Contrary to some views, the chapter shows that gendered metaphors

do not always portray men in glowing terms but musicians in Zimbabwe use them to evaluate men.

## **CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study. These arise out of the objectives of the study. Metaphors expose the linguistic contribution of metaphors in shaping Shona speaking people's gendered views in Zimbabwe. An analysis of the Popular Zimbabwean songs using Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis framework informs the conclusion.

### **6.2 Overview of objectives**

Five objectives guided the study. These were namely: How is gender embodied through metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse? How do gendered metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse influence the Shona speaker's views on gender? What is the nexus between gender debates, Shona cultural beliefs, values and norms and the gendered metaphors? How do metaphors in Shona lyrical discourse enact gendered power relations? What role is served by gendered metaphors and gendered ideologies in popular Shona music discourse? These objectives guided the conclusions and recommendations therein.

### **6.3 Summary of research findings**

The study has revealed that Zimbabwean musicians use conceptual and linguistic metaphors in their song lyrics as rhetorical strategies to construct, describe, interpret and evaluate gender roles and identities thus commenting and representing individual and Zimbabwe society gender perspectives. The metaphors in the songs construct gender realities that are motivated by different gender ideologies. Key gender ideologies that emerge are patriarchy and feminism

with metaphors being used to emphasise binary identities and roles in families and society. On the other hand, gendered metaphors in Shona song lyrics challenge the narrative that men are superior to women. The metaphors are both gendering and gendered in that they persuade audiences to adopt preferred gender views and positions. They are also gendered since they are embedded with gender positions. An analysis of the metaphors in the selected songs also reveals the influence of gender debates, both traditional and contemporary, norms and values, confirming that language shapes society and society shapes language, and has a social role to play in society (Fairclough, 2003). The metaphors also reflect the dynamicity of gender identities and attitudes and the role of women and men in families and society. The metaphors, which this study identifies, show support or rejection of gender views propagated in the ongoing debates in society.

The analysis also reveals that metaphors tend to reinforce hegemonic patriarchal views that advocate for the maintenance of the views despite spirited efforts by the Zimbabwean government to treat men and women as equals through legal instruments that are meant to restore the rights of widows and divorcees. Metaphors that emerge from the selected songs focus on different topics of concern to the Zimbabwean people. The topics include love and marriage, the importance of childbearing in marriage, corruption, jealousy, infidelity, inheritance, property grabbing by the deceased's relatives and asymmetrical gender relations in the face of HIV and AIDS.

The study notes that musicians use negative and positive gendered metaphors in Shona songs. The musicians use metaphors not only to construct gender perspectives but also to describe, interpret and evaluate these narratives. The metaphors used represent women as mothers, soft-hearted, sweet-tongued, prostitutes, cows, heifers, burning cigarettes, poisoned wells, flowers,

men's ribs, aesthetic objects to be enjoyed by men, disease vectors, cows, heifers, flowers, lacking *unhu/ubuntu*, slaves, orphans, genesis of man's problems, temptresses, sexual objects, same as men, unequal to men, artificial, , soft-hearted, victims of sexual and gender abuse, equal to men. On the other hand, men are also projected negatively as kings, weak, criminals, abusive, sexual predators, reckless spenders, childish, joy loving, perpetual toddlers/teenagers, victims of women's seduction, Biblical Adam, lacking *unhu/ubuntu*, hard workers. The fluidity of perspectives on gender emerges in different contexts. The general trend is that musicians in the late 1980s and early 1990s held very strong patriarchal views regarding gender with the trend tapering off after 2000, though metaphors are still persuasively used to challenge certain gender perspectives in all contexts. Some musicians are decidedly feminist in their approach of representing gender through metaphor while some vacillate between defending patriarchal ideologies or challenging it. Musicians use gendered metaphors to discursively project views on topics that include love, marriage, gender violence, corruption, inheritance, estate distribution and divorce rights.

Gender metaphors used in the songs reflect power contestation within a society characterised by asymmetrical power relations between men and women. Most of the metaphors in the songs advocate for the continuation of the status quo although in certain instances musicians use gendered metaphors to subvert dominant narratives on gender to either project neutral or opposed narratives. One such musician is Oliver Mtukudzi. He uses metaphors to persuade audiences to view women as equal to men. This pattern is very evident from his songs from 2000 and beyond. The gendered metaphors he deploys consistently present men as having weaknesses, a deliberate strategy that casts them as just as humans as their women counterparts.

From a Critical Metaphor Analysis perspective, gendered metaphors used in the selected Zimbabwean Shona songs musicians show stakes on gender issues. The musicians use metaphors alongside other linguistic tools to project gender notions and positions reflecting individual and community preferences. One consistent view is that women are not equal to men and society should tolerate them for being different. Women are framed as flirtatious, materialistic, dependent, kind and appendages of men. However, a counter-narrative presented by the metaphors is that men are irresponsible sex predators, not always powerful, as emotional as women, not always strong, flashy, indiscreet and joy loving. A corollary view that also emerges from analysing the metaphors is that women are not innocent bystanders or victims but sometimes turn their gender into instruments of power for their own benefit. The study shows that metaphors, as several Critical Discourse analysts observe are not just persuasive but are also ideological (Fairclough, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2004; Lakoff and Johnston 1980). This makes music a site where ideologies are presented and contested.

The study reveals that metaphors used in the selected Shona songs, to discursively project and argue ideas on gender, which the musicians consider be positive or negative. One such ideology is the equality of sexes. Musicians either project males and females as having different roles in society, which makes them unequal or equal. Those musicians who advocate for equality between sexes also use metaphors to expose and challenge masculine ideologies. Within the selected songs, some musicians sometimes use metaphors to argue for the maintenance of the status quo. These musicians include the late Paul Matavire and Steve Makoni. However, Metaphors analysed indicate an ideological shift whereby musicians consciously use metaphors to construct gender identities that challenge the patriarchal ideology.



The study also confirms that gender is constructed and performed through language and that power is embedded in discourse (Butler, 1990; Foucault cited in White, 1994). Metaphors in the Shona songs carry gender perspectives, which influence how Zimbabweans understand gender. Although some of the perspectives may be rejected it is possible that some of the views people end up having may be derived from what the musicians say in their songs. Power is embedded in most metaphors used by the musicians to reflect masculine hegemonic views on gender metaphors and capture opposed views thus, confirming Foucault (cited in White 1994) view that no group has a monopoly of power. The study also reveals that musicians use metaphors, to expose, transmit, reinforce, produce and undermine masculine power in the Shona society.

The study also reveals that while current efforts for gender parity are not yielding much success as would be envisaged, language can be used to change gender notions in the society. While other non-linguistic strategies such as passing laws on inheritance and property rights linguistics the media domain, (that is, music) remain important. It can thus be argued that the gendered metaphor in music lyrics present a formidable linguistic tool that can be utilised to debate gender and comment on gender perspectives in Zimbabwe for the benefit of society.

It is the conclusion of this study that musicians use metaphors to discursively and rhetorically project gender positions and that there is a contestation of different ideologies and gender perspectives at any given time. The metaphors deployed in the song lyrics extol and denigrate both men and women, capture unequal gender roles and multiple identities, present women as deviating from stereotypes, men as human as women and not powerful in all contexts. The two metaphors are used to attack cultural norms and values that subordinate the role and status of women for rhetorical purposes. The metaphors also reflect different cultural values and norms

of the Shona people, which the musicians use to justify or challenge different positions on gender at different points in time. The artists use of metaphors reflect the dynamism of gender perspectives within the thirty year period (1988 to 2018) covered by the research. One is notable also is that even when the patriarchal ideology is most dominant some artists could still use gendered metaphors to challenge the ideology confirming the view that ideologies are always facing resistance from opposed ideologies (Fairclough, 2002a, Foucault, 1997, Butler, 1990; Lazar, 2007; Atanga et al, 2012; Ellece, 2012; Nhlekisana, 2013)

#### **6.4 Recommendations**

Below are recommendations that arise from the analysis of gendered metaphors in Zimbabwean Shona songs. The recommendations focus on how music could be used as a site to influence positive gender perspectives that benefit society.

1. There is a need for government and other stakeholders to use music to promote positive gender perspectives. One way of achieving this is to empower musicians on how to construct and expose or reinforce desired gender perspectives in their messages using appropriate language tools such as metaphors. Musicians could also be taught how to use the same tool to discourage certain gender perspectives. Those who work in the media, churches and the education sector could also be encouraged to reduce stereotypical information through semantic retraining (Kwalami, Dovidio, Moll Hermesen and Russin, 2000). Through this, individuals could be required to negate such stereotypical information, as “girl children are weak in Sciences” and replace it with “Girl children are strong in Sciences”. Language workshops can also be used to conscientise music stakeholders such as producers, reviewers, songwriters, and musicians on the impact that metaphor has on instilling a culture’s lexicon that perpetuates stereotypes.

2. The study recommends the isolation of topical issues arising from Shona songs to analyse how musicians use gendered metaphors to construct different perspectives and positions. This would give an in-depth understanding of gender issues in Zimbabwe. Songs can also be used to establish the kinds of metaphors used by male and female musicians.

3. In order to enrich Critical Metaphor Analysis future studies of Shona songs could incorporate corpus linguistics in the analysis. In addition, Shona textbooks could also be analysed to explore the contribution of such socialisation tools in developing gender perspectives and attitudes.

4. Research could also be used to establish the impact of gendered metaphors on cultivating gender stereotypes in the Shona society. Understanding of how certain discourses abate marginalisation or reinforce gender perspectives is also important. If society becomes aware of such discourse, then desired gender parity and equality may be achieved.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: UNISA Research approval letter

	
<b>DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE</b>	
Date: 2 February 2016	
Dear A Chimbarange	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"><b>Ref #:</b> [2016 DALRERC 002] <b>Name of applicant (student):</b> Mr A Chimbarange <b>Student #:</b> 50R-R872-2</div>
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;"><b>Decision: Ethics Approval</b></div>	
<hr/>	
<b>Name:</b> Mr Advice Chimbarange	
<b>Supervisor:</b> Prof D E Mutasa	
<b>Co-supervisor:</b> Prof I Muwati	
<b>Proposal:</b> An analysis of gendered metaphors in selected Zimbabwean Shona Songs	
<b>Qualification:</b> PhD	
<hr/>	
Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Department of African Languages Research Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research. Final approval is granted for three years.	
<hr/>	
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"><p><b>For full approval:</b> The resubmitted documentation was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Department of African Languages Research Ethics Review Committee on 2 February 2016.</p><p>The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:</p><ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1) The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.</li><li>2) Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Department of African Languages Ethics Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the</li></ol></div>	
	<p>University of South Africa Pretorius Street, Midrand, Ridge, City of Johannesburg PO Box 192 UNISA 0003 South Africa Telephone: +27 12 409 3111 Fax: +27 12 409 4190 <a href="http://www.unisa.ac.za">www.unisa.ac.za</a></p>

## **APPENDIX 2:           Introductory letter and Consent Form**

### **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET**

Ethics clearance reference number: 2016-DARERC-002

Research permission reference number (if applicable):

Date

Title: ANALYSIS OF GENDERED METAPHORS IN SELECTED SHONA SONGS

#### **Dear Prospective Participant**

My name is ADVICE CHIMBARANGE and I am doing research with D E MUTASA, a Professor in the Department of AFRICAN LANGUAGES towards a Phd. at the University of South Africa. We have funding from CGS M & M by Research Bursary for research costs and tuition. We are inviting you to participate in a study entitled ANALYSIS OF GENDERED METAPHORS IN SELECTED SHONA SONGS.

#### **WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?**

I am conducting this research to find out how Shona musicians use metaphors persuasively to construct/challenge notions of gender, the values the metaphors project and ideology/ideologies motivating the construction/choice of the metaphors.

#### **WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?**

You are being invited to participate because of your expertise and experience as a linguist and researcher in the area of Shona studies and music. You were selected to participate because of your research on Shona music and or metaphors. Your contributions will remain anonymous and the information you give will only be used for this research purposes and the researcher assures you of the necessary confidentiality. You are one of the three experts that the researcher intends to interview for this research and your participation is strictly voluntary and you are free to withdraw the participation at any given time should you so wish.

## **WHAT IS THE NATURE OF MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?**

The study involves *semi-structured interviews*. The researcher expects the interview to last between twenty and forty minutes. You may be asked such questions as: *What values of the Shona culture does the metaphor relay. How is this persuasive to Shona speaking people. What could be the ideology motivating the musician in using this metaphor.*

## **CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO PARTICIPATE?**

Participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

## **WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?**

There are no monetary benefits attached to participation in this interview. Your contribution however, is of value in understanding the contribution of music in reinforcing or dismantling cultural values relating to gender.

## **ARE THERE ANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ME IF I PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT?**

There are no anticipated risks involved. However, the interview might inconvenience you in terms of time due to your busy schedule. Your participation will remain anonymous. Should you want to suspend the interview midway because of commitments feel free to do so, the researcher will be willing reschedule for your convenience.

## **WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER AND MY IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?**

You have the right to insist that your name will not be recorded anywhere and that no one, apart from the researcher and identified members of the research team, will know about your involvement in this research. Your answers will be given a code number or a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting

methods such as conference proceedings. Your answers may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including the transcriber and members of the Research Ethics Review Committee. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study, unless you give permission for other people to see the records. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report.

#### **HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?**

Hard copies of your answers will be stored by the researcher for a minimum period of five years in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet *at the University of Zimbabwe* for future research or academic purposes; electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable. At the end of five years hard copies will be shredded and soft copies deleted permanently.

#### **WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?**

There is no payment for your participation in the research.

#### **HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICS APPROVAL**

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of the *Department of African Languages of Unisa*. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

#### **HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?**

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, please contact ADVICE CHIMBARANGE on 0776933066.

Should you require any further information or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study, please contact A. CHIMBARANGE University of Zimbabwe, Faculty of Arts, Linguistics Department, P.O.BOX MP167, Mt Pleasant Harare. Tel 303211 Et 14111 Email [addie.chims@gmail.com](mailto:addie.chims@gmail.com).

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Professor D.E. Mutasa, tel # 0124298248, email mutasde@unisa.ac.za. Contact the research ethics chairperson of the <insert name of the committee, the name of the research ethics chairperson and contact details here, including email, internal phone number and fax number if you have any ethical concerns.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.  
Thank you.

ADVICE CHIMBARANGE

### **CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY**

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable).

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

I agree to the recording of the interview.

I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname..... (please print)

Participant Signature.....Date.....

Researcher's Name & Surname.....(please print)

Researcher's signature.....Date.....

## **APPENDIX 3: Expert Interview Schedule of Questions**

### **Expert Interview Schedule Student 50888722**

#### **Interviewee Details**

Code #:

Sex:

Age:

Qualifications:

Occupation:

Languages:

First Language:

#### **Interview Questions**

My name is ADVICE CHIMBARANGE, I am a Phd student from the college Human Sciences UNISA undertaking a research on the use of gendered metaphors in Shona popular music songs. The purpose of my research is to explore how the musicians use gendered metaphors in Shona songs to construct gender notions and underlying reasons for using such metaphors. I have selected you to participate in this research because of your expertise in the Shona language and communication. I expect the interview to take between 20 to 30 minutes. To assist me I need to tape our conversation and refer to it later. If this causes you discomfort, I will write notes on your responses instead. Your comments will remain anonymous and your contribution is confidential.

##### **Question 1**

Musicians singing in Shona use metaphors to talk about men and women. What could be the reason behind using metaphors instead of plain language? (Give a list of examples from selected songs)

##### **Question 2**

Which Shona gender values do these metaphors in these songs reflect? Can you explain?

##### **Question 3**

Why are men and women described thus in these lyrics? (Cite the song and lyrics)

##### **Question 4**

What cultural values about gender do these metaphors carry? (Cite metaphors from selected songs in the context of the lyrics). Could you please explain?

##### **Question 5**

What is the intended communicative function of these metaphors serve in the songs?

##### **Question 6**

In your opinion which gender debates do these examples of metaphor speak to?

**Thank you** very much for accepting to participate in this research and accommodating this interview in your busy schedule. Should you be interested to read the report of this research you can contact me on Cell number 0776933066 at the University of Zimbabwe Faculty of Arts, Linguistic Department, P.O. Box MP167 Mt Pleasant Harare, Churchill Road Mt Pleasant, Harare

## APPENDIX 4: List of songs

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
1	<b>PAUL MATAVIRE</b>	
1.1	<b>Tanga wandida</b>  Basa riripano Mari haizivane Kana ukandida unowana zvese  Handizvo zvandavinga Saka wavingeyi Zvino wavingeyi Ndindingwe rinonaka richakweva rimwe Vanhu kadzi tine nhamo Kane iro rokovewewa roti mavara azara ivhu Ida wekwako sezvaunozvida iwe Bhaibhiri rinotaura Chaunoda akuitirewo newe muitirewo ichocho  Vamwe varume havagone kupfimba Vanopona <b>nemavara seshato</b>  Inobata mhuka yakayeveverwa <b>Vanotungamidza mari mberi</b> Ini mukadzi nditsvagewo basawo zvonzi namaneja tanga wandida Ukandida unowana zvose Vedzimotokari vonyepera <b>tsiye nyoro</b> Murume kubhutu ini mukadzi mberi  Mana mano emuroyi kunyepera kutya dzvinyu akasungirira nyoka muchiuno  Handizvo zvanda vinga pano Yedu nhamo <b>ndeye fodya wemudzanga uku yakarumwa ukuinotsva</b> Kuti ndiudzewo baba vemwana zvaswera zvichiitika kwandanga ndaenda Murume neni bva wotoda dhivhosi Hanzi zvimwe ndiwe wange wavakwezva Nyamba kwete <b>varume ibasa</b> ravo  Chinzwai nhasi mauya Kuzotsvaga basa Nhasi ndoda mushandi mumwechete wechikadzi Wekushanda muofisi mangu akanyatso chena ka Se vavo mhamha avo vatsvuku avo E ivavo avo Chibvai manditevera muuye ku ofisi kwangu Ende mhamha makachena Muri <b>tsvarakadengachaiyo</b> svusvura ndadya mhodziyechingwa Ishwa ine mambava ayo Chimbofuratirayi mutarise uko Kuzoti dai muri <b>sidhudla</b> <b>Moto muzhinji</b> chaiwo	<b>Love me first</b>  There is a job here There is a lot of money If you agree to my love proposal you will get every thing Its not what I have come for So why have you come? Then what what have you come for A leopard likes it when it is pulling another As women we have problems When its its turn to be pulled it cries foul Treat others the way you want to be treated The Bible speaks What you want the other person to do for you also do it for him  Some men cannot propose love <b>They depend on changing colours like a python</b> And catches the mesmerised animal They use money to win over women As a woman when I go job hunting the manager demands to sleep with me first If you fall in love with me, you get every thing Motorists pretend being good hearted My husband rides in the trailer myself in the cab The pretence of a witch to be scared of a lizard yet she has a snake wound round her waist  Its not what I came for <b>Ours is a cigarette case on one end it being bitten on the other end its burning</b> If I tell my husband what the day has been like where I had been He blames me and demands divorce He accuses me of being suggestive Yet it's no so men are like that  Listen you who have come today To look for a job Today am hiring only one person, a woman To work in my office, smartly dressed Like that mother over there Ya that one Come with me to my office You're smartly dressed mother You are very beautiful , like the seed of bread  <b>Just like a white ant with its wings</b> Turn around What if you were voluminous Fireworks for sure



	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
	<p>Chinzwai ka mhamha  Basa ndirori mu ofisi muno  Poromosheni iri kuuya chimbi chimbi  Mari ye turanzipoti don't worry togadzirisa  Asi ndoda kuti tiite mutambire kwese kunzungu nekunyimo semhembwe  Apa ndoreva tiite puravheti ravhu mu ofisi  Kumba munenge muchivanzira murume wenyu</p> <p>Changamire wangu zvakutaura izvo zvinondisebura  Ndingavanzire vanhu vose vepanyika  Asi handingavanzire mwari  Ndakapika mukereke rake tsvene kuti handizombofi  Ndakava nemumwe murume kunze kwe iye wandinaye mumwechete</p> <p>Ambuya musafa nenyota makumbo arimumvura  m  Remember you are talking to the boss  <i>One who can satisfy you as far as cash is concerned</i></p> <p>Hunzi nevarungu fortune <i>knocks at a man's door once in life</i>  <i>Please don't lose me</i>  <i>If you lose you will have lost a good thing</i></p> <p><b>Ndakarurama semukaka unoraramisa rusvava</b>  Love chete as easy as all that.</p> <p>Evo svutu bheu kufa kwemukuwasha benzi  Kange mbeu kurima kwandikona ndaenda ini</p> <p>Mati ambuya varikuuya kuno dzakanyatoti kwesere here  Kana kuti dzaka tamba nepwere dzikaresva kudzosera</p> <p>Kubva vafamba <b>vachitsika mhengo kunge pikoko kudaro</b>  Venge vachatsenga mvura ikabuda masvisvinwa  Regai tione  <i>Lift lift lift</i>  Murivangani vari kuenda  Uye murikuenda kupi  Right imi mhamha mouya kuno kufurandi  Baba vanogara kubhuta kana kuti vanotevera netsoka haina hurry  <i>Chiregai baba vauye ikokokumberi</i>  Aaaka ka tiri kuita ona ladies  Hamusi kuona kuti makachena moda kuzoti  Vanhu vemuchovha vakashata  <i>Aa musandichonya</i>  Chiregai baba vauye ikokokumberi  Ini ndowaridza Zambia yangu kumashure ikoko.</p>	<p>Listen mother  Your work is in this office  Promotion will be soon  Transport money, don't worry I will sort it out  But we have to be an item</p> <p>What I mean is we should be office lovers  It has to be a secret that your husband should not discover  Sir what you have said is insulting  I may keep a secret from all human beings but not God  I swore in the holy church that I will never have another man except the one I have</p> <p>Madam don't be thirsty when you are standing in water  Remember you are talking to the boss  One who can satisfy you as long as cash is concerned  White people say "fortune knocks at a man's door once in life  Please don't lose me  <b>If you lose me, you will have lost a good thing</b></p> <p>I am as straight as life giving milk to a baby  Love only as easy as all that</p> <p>I give up, farming has failed me, <b>let me roast the seeds. I am going.</b></p> <p>Is that woman coming <b>normal?</b>  Or she once snapped and she has never recovered  <b>Prancing like a peacock</b>  Like <b>she can chew water and spit it</b>  Let us see  <i>Lift lift lift</i>  How many of you are going?  And where are you going?  Right madam come forward to the front  Sir, you can sit at the back or follow on foot  There is no hurry  Let daddy come there to the front  No we are honouring ladies  You are smart you want to then say  Motorists are inconsiderate  Aaa don't make eyes at me  Let daddy come there to the front  I will sit on my wrapper</p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
1.2	<p><b>PAUL MATAVIRE</b></p> <p><b>Dhindindini</b>  Makorokoto kunevakaroora  Muchagara zvenyu muchinzwa izwi dete mumba  Mukadzi mushonga unorapa  Dzungu rinopera kana uchinge waroora  Paparapara inopera uchinge waroora  Rudo rudo haruneyi wakadiyi  Benzi chaira ipa mudzimai rinodzikama</p> <p>Rudo haruneyi kuti ndiwe ani  Benzi ipa mudzimai rinodzikama  Ravhu haineyi kuti wakadini</p> <p>Vakuru vakati kukanya hurangana  Kupinda panda itai kushoma  Mutange matendenderana nanamai  Kupinda panda itai kushoma  Mutange mabvumirana nanamai</p> <p>Regai kuende isu mabhachura  Regai kuende isu madhivhosi  Tinotaurina nevataka rambana navo  Tisina vana vanosara vachichema kumba</p> <p>Dhindini full taimu tavekufara isu  Munhu wenyama ngaafare  Hapana chinotinetsa  Denga harina mafanisi  Ukaita unoenda kugehena</p> <p>Hatishaikwe panorira ngoma  Pavakaungana ndopanotinorira</p> <p>Mazita ikoko takapihwa kare  Tinozivikanwa savana chizhonda mhari  Mazita ikoko takapihwa kare  Tinozivikanwa savanachirera nherera</p> <p>Idya mari yako uchiri kufema  Usazotishupa womuka chipoko  Idyamari yako uchiri mupenyu  Unozoti netsa womuka chipoko  Mari itsime inodzinira  Ikaperangwana ikaperangwana uchawana imwe  Wapeyi nguva diki yekupindapinda  Madhindindi anovaraidza pfungwa  Leave me alone  Imi nanarivi venyu nanaroni ivavo  Handisini ndakati rovayi maticha nerekeni  Muchitadza kudzidza</p> <p>Wakuda kundi kondirora kondirora  Ndikada kupinda panda chikaindi chese</p> <p>Hapana anoti pwe pamusha pano</p>	<p><b>Joy</b>  Congratulations to those who are married  You will enjoy a soft voice in your homes  <b>A woman is medicine that cures</b>  Hastiness ends when you get married  Hastiness ends when you get married  Love is love it does not choose who you are  <b>A real madman calms down when given a woman</b>  Love does not choose who you are  Give a madman a woman and he calms down  Love does not care who you are</p> <p>Our elders said listen to advice  Go easy on joy  Agree first with your wives  Go easy on joy  Agree first with your wives</p> <p>Allow us bachelors to go  Allow us divorcees to go  So we go and talk to those we divorced  We do not have children who cry for us when we leave home  Joy full time we are enjoying ourselves  Let people enjoy  There is nothing to worry about  Heaven has no funny  You may go to hell</p> <p>We won't be missing at entertainment places  Where people are gathered is where we like to be  We got names there  <b>We are known for lavish spending</b>  We got names there  We are known as carers for orphans</p> <p>Eat your money while alive  Don't bother us by becoming a ghost  Eat your money while you alive  You may bother us by becoming a ghost  Money is like a well it seeps  If finished, tomorrow you will get some  Give them time to enjoy themselves  Joy relaxes the mind  Leave me alone  <i>You and your leave me alone</i>  It's not me who told you to attack teachers with catapults, failing to get an education</p> <p>You want to control me  If I want, I can go out and enjoy myself any how  You cannot do anything to me</p>

	<b>ARTIST &amp; LYRICS</b>	
	<p>Iwe uri wangu  Vana ndevangu  Mari ndini ndinoshanda  Musha ndewangu  Chesiti mainini bhora pasi momedza firiji</p>	<p><b>You are mine</b>  <b>The children are mine</b>  It's me who works for money  The home is mine  Chest it aunt, put the down ball down, cool it</p>
1.3	<p><b>PAUL MATAVIRE</b></p> <p><b>Chipuka ndipemwenje</b></p> <p>Nyika iyi yava sodhoma neGomora  Dzimba dzedu dzangova bvonyongera pese pese  Mhosva inemi varume  Regai nditaure  Mumwe nemumwe anoda akanaka kukundavese  <b>Mukunaka imomo ndimomunobva nhamo dzose</b>  Ivo varume <b>kwaari dzenge nyuchi</b>  Mumwe nemumwe murume daindiri ini ndadiwa</p> <p>Chipuka ndipe mwenje  Chiripi  Ndochidaa</p> <p>Zviri nani kana <b>anemoyo unerudo</b></p> <p>Moyo yenyu inodokwairira <b>vane vhudzi rekutenga</b></p> <p>Vane <b>ganda rakanatswa nemafuta</b>  Zvakafanana neruva rakanaka uchitanha</p> <p>Mangwana fume rasvava  Iwe muridzi worisema  Runako rwokutenga runopera iwe  Ukamuramba anonoreva vachada mendenenzi</p> <p>Ndakasvika pamudzviti ndokuona vachichema  Hanzi maoko akazvimba nekubvarura michato</p> <p>Ndakapinda mumabhawa  Nyaya ndiyoyo dhivhosi nemendenenzi</p> <p>Chipuka ndipe mwenje  Ndochida  Urivhundutsa pwere  Chitsiga chasara murutsa</p>	<p><b>The beast</b></p> <p>This country is now Sodom and Gomorrah  Families are upside down  The problem is men  Let me speak  <b>Every man desires the most beautiful</b>  In the beauty lies all the problems  <b>Men are like bees around her</b>  Each man wishes to be the chosen one</p> <p>The ugliest  Where is she  I love it</p> <p>It's better if she has a loving heart</p> <p>Your hearts pine for <b>women with artificial hair</b>  With oil polished skins  It's like a flower that is beautiful when you pick it  Tomorrow it wilts  You then despise it  Beauty that is bought expires  If you divorce her she will sue you for maintenance</p> <p>I arrived at the courts to hear them grumbling  They were bemoaning marriages they had to end  I went into bearhalls  It was the same story divorce and maintenance  The ugliest  I love it  You frighten kids  A lone burnt stump the aftermath of a veld fire</p>
1.4	<p><b>PAUL MATAVIRE</b>  <b>DHIYABHOROSI NYOKA</b></p> <p>Dai vasivo nyika ino ingadai riri sango remichero mudya ndigere</p> <p>Dai vasivo nyika ino iri munda wemuchero mudya ndigere</p>	<p><b>THE DEVIL SNAKE</b></p> <p>Had it been not for them this world would be a fruit filled forest, where we would not have to work  Had it not been for them this world would be a field of fruits, where we would not have to work</p>

ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
<p><b>Musandinakurira</b> nyoka mhenyu iyi veduwe totochema nemunyengeri dhiyabhorosi nyoka</p> <p>Adam asati awana wakanga <b>asina</b> chivi Murume iri tsvimborume akange ari <b>mutsvene</b> Chivi chakazouya pashure Eva anyengedzwa nenyoka Chivi chakazouya mukadzi azonyengerwa nenyoka</p> <p>Kudya muchero wepakati pemunda usina ungwaru</p> <p>Kudyamuchero wekuziva zvakaipa nezvakanaka Eva anzwa huri huchi wakapawo Adam</p> <p>Vaviri vachipedza kudya nyadzi ndokukunda rufu</p> <p>Vakazviona vasina nhembe ndokuzosimira mashizha</p> <p>Mwari awona zvakadayi wakavarova neshamhu Shamhu yavakarohwa nayo nhasi uno yorwadza isu Totochema nadzo hama dzedu amai Totochema nadzo hama dzedu Hii totochema</p> <p>Ndonyaya yacho iyo Mwari apinda mumunda we eden manheru kotonhorera</p> <p>Ndokudeedza Adam, uripi Asi wadya muchero uya kanhi Adam ndokupindura oti mukadzi uya wamakandipa ishe</p> <p>Akadya upenzi wena akavadzinga mumunda we Eden</p> <p>Ahana kuita zvekuva tsvarira akavazvambura</p> <p>Iwe murume <b>uchadya cheziya</b></p> <p>Mukadzi ucharwadziwa nemimba pakupona Nyoka ichashaiwa makumbo yokweva nedumbu</p> <p>Dondo rikava neminzwa nerukato Uchadzokera muvhu muhuruva mawakabva Munhu nenyoka muchava muvengi nemuvengi Nyoka ikawona munhu icharuma chitsitsinho Iwe munhu uchipwanya nyoka musoro Kubva ipapo mukadzi yakava <b>mbokochena parere nhema</b></p> <p>Rikava gangaidzwa kunhuwa kwekafa Hazvina kuzomborurama kubva nhasi Ndonhamo yatinoona Totochema nadzo amai Totochema nhadzo hama dzedu Hii totochema</p>	<p><b>Don't throw a live snake</b> at me We cry blaming the deceptive devil snake</p> <p>Before Adam married <b>he had no sin</b> As a bachelor he was sinless <b>Sin came</b> after Eve was misled by a snake Sin came after the woman was misled by a snake</p> <p><b>Foolishly Eating a fruit</b> from the centre of the field Eating a fruit that gave him wisdom When Eve discovered it was tasty she gave Adam When the two finished eating they were embarrassed They realised their nakedness and covered themselves with tree leaves When God saw this, He whipped them The <b>whip</b> still causes pain to us even today We cry for our relatives, mother We cry for our relatives Yes, we cry</p> <p>This is the story When God entered the garden of Eden, cool in the evening He called Adam, where are you Did you eat that fruit? Adam said, this woman you gave me Lord</p> <p>He told them they were stupid and chased them out of the field He was not lenient to them He whipped them thoroughly</p> <p>You, the man you will <b>eat what comes from your sweat</b> A woman will have pain when giving birth A snake will be legless, will crawl on its stomach A forest will have thorns and thistles You will return to dust where you came from A snake and a human being will be enemies When a snake sees a man it will bite his heel You, human being will crush the snake's head From then on a woman became a problem</p> <p>It became an offending dead man's smell It never got better until today This is the trouble that we face We cry for our relatives, mother We cry for our relatives Yes, we cry</p>

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	<p>Pamusoroyi varume  Ndombokumbirawo nzeve dzenyu  Nokuti vhangeri riya ratanga manje  Kwanzi Adam mumunda we Eden  Achiri ega toti raiva <b>bhachura</b> nhai  Haana kana chaakatadzira nyadenga  Chivi chakazouya pava pashure kwasikwa Eva  Kwasikwa vahosi Eva mai vedu</p> <p>Ndovane hama dzatinadzo mudzimba dzedu</p> <p>Ndobviraka ivava hama dzedu <b>dzenguwo refu</b>  Ivava vemashoko <b>akatetepera</b> kunge sadza <b>remurwere</b></p> <p><b>Vamanzwi anotapira nokutonhorera</b> kunge <b>dhiringisi remufiriji</b></p> <p>Ndokunyengerana nenyoka yainzi dhiyabhorosi  Zvikanzi iwe muchero wamunoregera uyu huchi  Eva akadyawo ndokunzwa ndobva ati huchesiti huchesiti</p> <p>Ndokutora dzimwe wovigira Adam  Adam paakango bo kamwechete ndiye gotsi papata  Adam mudhara wangu ndokuimba manhanga kutapira  Zvikanzi mudyandakasungwa uyu  Gambura ndakagata chairu  Chidokohori mushonga wemavende  dzvetera matadza nzungu dzechinanzvirwa  Vaviri vachipedza kudya  Ndokutanga kutsinzinyira maziso kunge murwe ari  kuveurwa tsiye nachiremba  Ndiye mudondo pfocho  Vonosonaidza mashizha emuonde kuti vasimire</p> <p>Dai vasivo dai nyika riri sango remuchero mudya ndigere</p> <p>Dai vasivo vanamai veduwe dai riri sangoo remuchero</p> <p>Musandinaakurire nyoka mhenyu iyi veduwe  Totochema nadhiyabhorisi nyoka</p> <p>Ngatifambireyi nevhangeri tione  Vamwe venyu vangango pindwa nepfungwa dzekuti  Adam akakasira kupindwa nechindeenda akaita dzungu  tevere  ndokuva gudza dungwe  Asika ngatimbozvibvunzayi varume  Vangani varume mudzimba vanganzii namadzimai avo  Nhai baba atombi ndiitireyi chakati vakaramba</p>	<p>Excuse me gentlemen  Give <b>me your ears</b>  Because the gospel has started  It's said, Adam in the garden of Eden  Before he married he was a bachelor  He had not done anything wrong to God  <b>Sin came when</b> Eve was created  After the creation of the first wife Eve, our mother  <b>She is the one whose relatives</b> we live with in our homes  I mean our relatives who wear long dresses  These ones, <b>with voices as thin as Sadza meant for a patient</b>  <b>With sweet voices like fridge cooled drinks</b></p> <p>She conspired with a snake called devil  It said to her, the fruit you don't eat is so tasty  Eve ate and said it is sweet, very sweet</p> <p>She took some with her to give to Adam  When Adam had a bite he liked it so much  He sang a song in praise of the tasty fruit  He said it was so sweet  Very sweet  Real medicine for extracted tooth gaps  Peanut that soothes molars  When the two finished eating  They closed their eyes like a patient having eye lash cut from a doctor  They ran into the forest  To sew together fig leaves to cover themselves</p> <p>Had it not been for them this world would be a fruit filled forest where we would not have to work  Had it not been for our mothers it will be a fruit filled forest  Don't throw a live snake at me  We cry blaming the devil snake</p> <p>Let us move on with the gospel  Some of you might entertain the thought that Adam did not stop to think, he just followed what Eve wanted him to do  Just following sheepishly  But let us ask men  How many men in our homes who can be asked by their wives, Daddy do this for me and refuse</p>

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	<p>Tose tinowanikwa tichigutsurira musoro kutoendera pamusoro chaipo Nekuti rurimi rwevanhu ava rwunotapira</p> <p>Rhaiti iyezvino izvi Ndoda kuti murume nemurume kana mukomana pauri ipapo ungotarisa musikana kana mhamha vari pedyo newe Mava tarisa here Musatya henyu kutarisa nokuti ziso aharibe chemunhu</p> <p>Tarisayi chete Munoona here kuvakwa kwakaita vanhu ava vaneiya inonzi pachirungu <i>attractiveness</i> Nokuti maziso ako kungovaona chete anobva aguta Zvino mati Adam aizodiyi</p>	<p>All of us may be found nodding our heads eagerly Because their tongues are sweet</p> <p>Right now I would like each man or a boy where you are Just look at the girl or woman near you Have you looked at her? Don't be afraid to look at them because your eyes will not take anything away from her Just look Do you see how they are built, they have what's referred to in English as <i>Attractiveness</i> Once you look at them you become satisfied What could have Adam done</p>
2.	<b>MARSHALL MUNHUMUMWE</b>	
2.1	<p><b>Vimbai</b> Ndiye mwana uye wandaireva Ndiye mwana uye wandaitaura Vimbai Mwana akanaka Mwanasikana chechekerwa se shereni <b>Chitora moyo pakaperera</b> shungu dzamwari</p> <p>Ndiye akatora moyo kwete wangu ndega Tiri vazhinji vanomurumbidza <b>Meso ake akapfekedzwa tsitsi nengoni</b></p> <p>Ndiye mwana uye wandaitaura Vimbai Mwana akanaka Ndiye akatora moyo kwete wangu ndega Tiri vazhinji vanomurumbidza Ane moyo <b>munyoro usina</b> vamwe Moyo wake igumbeze rechando Mutsipa wake rinenge bhiza ramambo Vimbai mwana anetsika Vimbai mwana anetsika</p> <p><b>Vimbai</b> Mwana akanaka Ndiye akatora moyo kwete wangu ndega Tiri vazhinji vanomurumbidza Ane moyo munyoro usina vamwe Moyo wake <b>igumbeze rechando</b> Mutsipa wake rinenge bhiza ramambo Vimbai mwana anetsika</p>	<p><b>Trust</b> She is the child I was talking about She is the child I was speaking about Trust A beautiful girl A girl well moulded One who takes hearts, God's best</p> <p>She has captured many hearts not just mine We are many who praise her Her eyes projects mercy, kindheartedness</p> <p>She is the child I was talking about Trust A beautiful child She captured many hearts not just mine We are many who praise her She is soft hearted unlike others Her heart is a winter blanket Longnecked like a king's horse Trust a well mannered child Trust a well mannered child</p> <p>Trust A beautiful child She captured many hearts not just mine We are many who applaud her She is soft hearted unlike others Her heart is a winter blanket She is long necked like a king's horse Trust a well mannered child</p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
2.2	<p><b>MARSHALL MUNHUMUMWE</b></p> <p><b>Rudo Imoto</b></p> <p>Rudo imoto runotokwichidzirwa vana amai  Musati zvandarorwa handichageza  Musati zvandawanikwa handichachena  Chokwadi munosiwa mumba umu makatembera  Varume ipwere vanotorezva sevana vacheche  Chokwadi munosiwa mumba mega mega</p> <p>Musachembere patsika  Chemberai panyama  Musachembere pahunhu  Chemberai panyama</p> <p>Kokuchena kwehumandara makaisepiko mhai</p> <p>Munosiwa mumba umu maamega mhai</p> <p>Kusiwa makatembera  Makatembera shuwa makatembera</p>	<p><b>Love is Fire</b></p> <p>Love is fire it needs rekindling  Don't say I won't bathe because I'm married  Marriage should not stop you from bathing.  Surely you will be left in the home  Men are children they need lulling  Surely you will be left alone in the home</p> <p>Don't allow your habits to grow old  Grow old physically  Don't let your humaneness grow old  Grow old physically</p> <p>What happened to your virginhood cleanliness,  mother?  You will be left alone in the house</p> <p>You will be left when you least expect it  When you least expect it, surely, when you don't</p>
2.3	<p><b>MARSHALL MUNHUMUMWE</b></p> <p><b>Mbereko yakaramba</b></p> <p>Kurorwa kwangu kwakafadza vabereki vangu  Kuroorwa kwangu kwakafadza hama neshamwari  Pamuchato wangu kana vane hutsinye vakabvisa zvipo  Kana varoyibvakapembera nekupurudza vakabvisa zvipo</p> <p>Nhamo yakatozouya ndavemumba mangu  Mberek mberek mberek mberek yakaramba</p> <p>Ndakaenda kumadhokotera kunotariswa  Dhokotera akati hapana chakaipa kwauri</p> <p>Mberek mberek mberek yakaramba</p> <p>Ndakaenda kwagodobori kunozvitsvaga  Haiwa apa ndipo pandakasarenda  Ndakabva ndaziva imba yangu yaparara  Muhupenyu hwangu handife ndakabata mwana mumaoko</p> <p>Dzoka dzoka mudiwa dzoka  Dzoka tigare  Rudo chete ndirwo rukuru.</p>	<p><b>The baby carrier refused</b></p> <p>My marriage made my parents happy  My marriage made relatives and friends happy  At my wedding even the cruel gave us presents  Even witches celebrated and ululated and gave us presents  A marital challenge later arose  The baby carrier, the baby carrier, the baby carrier refused</p> <p>I went to be examined by doctors  The doctor said there was nothing wrong with me</p> <p>The baby carrier, the baby carrier, the baby carrier refused</p> <p>I went to a witch doctor to find out  Yes, that is when I gave up  I realised that my marriage was over  I will never hold a baby in my arms my whole life</p> <p>Come back, come back, my darling come back  Come back, so we live  Only love is great</p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
3.	<b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b>	
3.1	<p><b>Mbabvu yangu</b> Wakandinemba nerudo <b>Kuperera nechido</b> Ndikatsidzira ndinokuda</p> <p>Ndokutenda ndotenda wagona Ndotenda ndotenda wagona</p> <p>Kundirerera vana vangu wagona Kundiraira vana ava wagona</p> <p>Ndotenda ndotenda wagona Ndotenda ndotenda wagona</p> <p><b>Wakandidenha nerudo</b> Kuperera nerudo Ndikatsidzira ndinokuda</p> <p><b>Seyi uchindibata nekunze kweruoko</b></p> <p>Seyi uchindibata sendisi munhu <b>Ndini mai vako</b> <b>Ndini mai ve vana vako</b> <b>Ndini zve mai vakabara baba vako</b> <b>Ndini zve mai vakabara mese</b> Mese imimi</p> <p>Ndotenda ndotenda wagona Kundirezva ndadhinhiwa wagona Pakuzotenda nemutupo wagona</p> <p>Kundipuruzira panda vaviwa wagona</p> <p>Ndini mai vako Ndini mai vevana vako Ndini zve mai, mai vababa vako Ndini ndakabara mese Mese imimi Wagona wagona Mai vevana wagona</p>	<p><b>My Rib</b> You <b>overwhelmed me with love</b> <b>Am completely besotted</b> I <b>vowed I love you</b></p> <p>I thank you I thank you Thank you Thank you you have done well</p> <p>To <b>look after my children</b> To <b>nurture my children</b></p> <p>Thank you thank you you have done well Thank you thank you you have done well</p> <p>You <b>provoked me with love</b> <b>Am completely besotted with love</b> I vowed I love you</p> <p>Why do you touch me with the outside of your <b>palm?</b> Why do you treat me <b>like I am not human?</b> I'm your <b>mother</b> I'm your children's <b>mother</b> I'm your paternal <b>grandmother</b> I'm <b>the mother who gave birth to you all</b> You all</p> <p>Thank you thank you you have done well To <b>comfort me when I'm low</b> To <b>thank me using my totem</b> you have done well</p> <p><b>To scratch me where I feel itchy</b> you have done well</p> <p>I'm your <b>mother</b> I'm your children's <b>mother</b> I'm your paternal <b>grandmother</b> I'm <b>the mother who gave birth to you all</b> You all You have done well My children's mother you have done well</p>



	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
3.2	<b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b>  <b>Tapera</b>  Haiwa iwa iwa Varume vakuru Murume mukuru Varume vakuru <b>munenge pwere</b> seyi Murume mukuru unenge pwere seyiko Rega <b>kuvarairwa</b> Usavarairwa Rega kuvarairwa <b>kuyeverwa</b>  <b>Ndoona wobate musoro</b> <b>Kubate musana</b> <b>Pakati pemhandara</b> Ndoona wobate musoro uine mhandara  <b>Tapera</b> Tapera Ndoona wobata musoro uine mhandara  Tapera Tapera	<b>We have been decimated</b>  No no no <b>Mature old men</b> <b>Mature old men</b> <b>Mature old men</b> , why are <b>you like teenagers</b> Mature old man <b>you like a teenager</b> , why? Don't be taken away Be taken away <b>Don't be taken away</b>  <b>I see you touching your head</b> <b>Touching your back</b> <b>In the midst of virgins</b> <b>I see you touch your head in the company of a virgin</b> <b>We have been decimated</b> <b>We have been decimated</b> <b>I see you touch your head in the company of a virgin</b> <b>We have been decimated</b> <b>We have been decimated</b>
3.3	<b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b>  <b>Neria</b>  Neria Neria woo Usaore moyo ka Neria Mwari anewe Usaore moyo ka Neria Mwari anewe Mwari anewe ka Neria mwari anewe Kufirwa nemurume hanzvadzi zvinoda moyo wekushinga Usaore moyo ka Neria, mwari anewe Usaore moyo ka Neria Mwari anewe Mwari anewe ka Neria  Neria Neria woo Usaore moyo ka Neria mwari anewe Usaore moyo ka Neria mwari anewe Mwari anewe ka Neria mwari anewe Hupenyu imhindupindu, ngwarira mhengo dzezviedzo Usaore moyo ka Neria, mwari anewe Usaore moyo ka Neria Mwari anewe Mwari anewe ka Neria  Vanhukadzi vanobatwa senhapwa, kugara senherera Usaore moyo ka Neria mwari anewe Usaore moyo ka Neria mwari anewe Shinga moyo shinga mwari anewe Rufu rwune shanje kutsaura vanodanana Usaore moyo ka Neria, mwari anewe Usaore moyo ka Neria Mwari anewe Shinga moyo shinga Mwari anewe	<b>Neria</b>  Neria Neria ye Don't lose heart Neria God is with you <b>Don't lose heart</b> Neria God is with you God is with you neria <b>To lose a husband</b> , sister, requires you to be strong Don't lose heart Neria, God is with you Don't lose heart Neria, God is with you God is with you  Neria Neria, ye <b>Don't lose heart</b> Neria God is with you <b>Don't lose heart</b> Neria God is with you God is with you neria God is with you Life changes, beware of bad <b>spirits of temptations</b> <b>Dont lose heart Neria, God is with you</b> God is with you  <b>Women are treated like slaves, living like orphans</b> Don't lose heart, Neria, God is with you Don't lose heart, Neria, God is with you Death is jealous to separate lovers Do'nt lose heart, Neria, God is with you Don't lose heart, Neria, god is with you <b>Have a strong heart</b> have a strong heart God is with you

	ARTIST & LYRICS	
3.4	<b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b>  <b>Anochera aharambidzwe</b>  Anochera aharambidzwe Anochera pamadiro Nzira yawasarudza Mukombe haureme Unongochera pamadiro Kuchera hakurambe  Anochera aharambidzwe Unongochera pamadiro Mai vakasiya imba nekuraradza Baba ndokudzingwa basa nekuraradza  Mukombe wakariga vane mari Mukombe wakariga vanehungwaru Mukombe wakariga vepamusorosoro Mukombe unoriga anouchera  Anochera aharambidzwe Anochera pamadiro Anochera aharambidzwe Anochera pamadiro	<b>He who drinks should not be forbidden</b>  He who drinks should not be forbidden He drinks at will The path you have chosen Beer is not heavy You drink when ever you like drinking Drinking is not the problem  He who drinks should not be forbidden You drink whenever you like drinking Your mother divorced because of drinking Your father was fired form his job because of drinking Beer floored the rich Beer floored those with wisdom Beer floored top people Beer floors one who drinks it  He who drinks should not be forbidden He drinks at will He who drinks should not be forbidden He drinks at will
3.5	<b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b>  <b>Kuonererwa</b> Zvikomana zvemazuva ano manyemwe Ndaiti kushanda inini Kugaro fumura zviru pamoyo  Zvikomana zvamazuva ano manyemwe Ndaiti kushanda inini Chedikita hachipfachurwe Ndaiti kushanda inini  Ukaona achipfachura hupfumi hwenhaka  Ukaona achipfachura zvimwe ndechekuba  Hanzi ndinemari pano mumota kumba neku bhengi Pakuzoti ndine mari pano kumba neku bhengi Ndaiti kushanda inini  Ukaona achipfachura ipfuma yenhaka  Vemanyemwe zvimwe ndechekuba Ndaiti kushanda inini	<b>Being Pompous</b> Today's young men are flashy I thought it is earned <b>Letting out what is in the haert</b>  Today's young men flashy I thought it is earned What is <b>derived from sweat</b> is not wasted I thought it is earned  If you see him recklessly spending, it's wealth from inheritance If you see him <b>recklessly spending</b> , probably it is stolen  He says I have money here, in the car, at home and in the bank I thought it is earned  If you see him recklessly spending it is wealth from inheritance Those who are flashy it could be stolen I thought it is earned

	ARTISTS & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
3.6	<b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b>  <b>Muroora kuitamadana</b>  Muroora kuita madanha Mamuramba wangu <b>Mamuramba wangu mamuramba</b> Konhayi atete ndiyeye wandada Ko nhai asekuru ndiyeye wandada  Muroora kuita madanha Mamuramba wangu mamuramba Mamuramba wangu mamuramba  Muroora kusvika kuita madanha <b>Hunzi anemusana murefu</b> <b>Hunzi kwaanobva kunengozi</b> <b>Hunzi wakakawanepi katematema</b> Ndomuwanepi <b>ane ndorochena</b> Ndomuwanepi anendorochena	<b>A defiant daughter-in-law</b>  <b>For a daughter- in-law to be defiant</b> <b>You have rejected my dear</b> <b>You've rejected my dear you've rejected her</b> But aunt she is the one I love But uncle she is the one I love  For a daughter-in-law to defiant <b>You have rejected my dear</b> <b>You've rejected my dear you've rejected her</b>  <b>For a daughter-in-law to start being defiant</b> <b>They say she has a long back</b> <b>They say she comes from a cursed family</b> <b>They say where did you get that dark girl</b> <b>Where do I get one who fits their expectation?</b> <b>Where do I get one who fits their expectation?</b>
3.7	<b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b>  <b>Todii Senzenjani What shall we do</b>  Hooo todii senzeni What shall we do? Senzenjani, what shall we do  Zvinorwadza seyi kurera rufu mumaoko  Uchiziva unoahwo hutachiwana Hoo todii senzeni What shall we do, tingadii Senzenjani, what shall we do  Zvinorwadza seyi kubhinywa newaugere naye  Zvinorwadza seyi kubhinywa neakabvisa pfuma  Uchiziva unawo hutachiwana Hoo todii senzeni What shall we do senzenjani what shall we do.	<b>What shall we do?</b>  What shall we do? What shall we do? What shall we do?  How painfull is it to <b>nurture death in your hands</b> When you know you <b>are infected</b> Hoo what shall we do? <b>What shall we do, what can we do?</b> What shall we do?  How painfull it is to <b>be raped by someone you live with</b> How panfull is it to be raped by one <b>who paid the bride price</b> Knowing you are infected Hoo what shall we do What shall we do, what shall we do what shall we do?
3.8	<b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b>  <b>Hausati wakura</b> Kana <b>usati waputudza</b> Hausati <b>wakura?</b> Kungopotudza hausati wakura Hausati <b>wabva zera</b> Maihwe ndochema Wochemeiko mwanawe  Haungaroorwe usati wakura Haung <b>awanikwe</b> usati <b>wakura</b>	<b>You still young</b> <b>before you grow breasts</b> <b>You not old enough</b> growing breasts you not old enough <b>you not grown up yet</b> mother I cry why do you cry  you cannot get married you still young you cannot get married before you are grown up

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
	<p>Usati <b>wabva zera</b>  Usati wakura  Maihwe ndochema  Inzwayi tsitsi</p> <p>Kuda <b>kupfuma nemisodzi yemwana</b>  Kudakumuroodza mwana  Kutadza kumuchengetedza kusvika ayaruke  Kuda kupfuma nemisodzi yemwana  Kuda <b>kugarika nemisodzi yemwana</b>  Haasati akura  Haasati akura</p> <p>Kuda kupfuma nemisodzi yemwana  Kutadza kumuchengetedza kusvika ayaruke  Kudakupfuma nemisodzi yemwana  Ahasati akura  Hasati abvazera  Maihwe ndochema</p> <p>kana waputudza hausati wakura</p> <p>hausati wakura  hausati wabva zera  kuda kupfuma nemisodzi yemwana</p> <p>haasati abva zera  Betekera wochemba wana uyu  Maihwe ndochema  Varume vakuru nyarai  Maihwe ndochema  Hasati abvazera  Hazvingadaro mwana iwe  Hausati wabva zera</p>	<p><b>before you get older</b>  before you are grown up  mother I cry  be merciful</p> <p><b>getting rich riding on a child's tears</b>  Marrying off the child  Failing to protect the child  Getting rich because of the child's tears  <b>Living off the child's tears</b>  You are not yet grown up  You are not yet grown up</p> <p><b>Getting rich on riding on a child's tears</b>  Failing to protect the child  Getting rich riding on a child's tears  <b>Living off the child's tears</b>  You are not yet grown up  You are not yet grown up</p> <p><b>When you start growing breasts you are are not grown up</b>  <b>You not grown up</b>  <b>You are still immature</b>  <b>Intending to get rich riding on a child's tears</b>  <b>She is not grown up</b></p> <p><b>Pay attention the child is crying</b>  <b>Mother I cry</b>  <b>Mature old men be ashamed</b>  <b>Mother I cry</b>  <b>She is not grown up yet</b>  <b>It can not be my child</b>  <b>You are still immature</b></p>
3.9	<p><b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b></p> <p><b>Raki</b></p> <p>Varipo varume vanorarama neraki  Iripo mikono inorarama neraki  Isingazive pane anochengeti  Zvichida ariko kumusoro  Anoyambutsa pazambuko  Kukuburitsa murutsa  Anonzvengesa panjodzi</p> <p>Varipo varume vanorarama neraki  Raki  Raki munoritorepiko raki  Raki  Iripo mikono inorarama neraki  Rakii  Munoriwanepiko luck</p>	<p><b>Luck</b></p> <p>There are men who <b>survive on luck</b>  <b>Big men who survive on luck</b>  <b>Who don't know there is one who looks after them</b>  May be he is <b>up there</b>  Who assists you <b>to cross the river</b>  <b>To pull you out of a burnt veld</b>  Who saves you <b>from danger</b></p> <p><b>There are men who survive on luck</b>  <b>luck</b>  <b>luck where do you get it</b>  <b>luck</b>  <b>there are big men who survive on luck</b>  <b>luck</b>  <b>Where do you get luck from?</b></p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	TRANSLATED ENGLISH VERSION
	<p><b>Asingazive</b> pane anochengeta</p> <p>raki Ano yambutsa pazambuko raki Kukuburitsa parutsva Raki Agokusvetutsa paminzwa raki Kukunzvengesa panjodzi</p> <p>Ndinokunzwai raki inafu ndararama</p> <p>Raki inafu ndararama Ndozonzwazve raki inafu ndararama</p> <p>Raki inafu ndanzvenga Ndokunzwai raki inafu ndazvenga Ndozokunzwai raki inafu ndapona</p> <p>Raki munoriwanepiko raki Raki Munoritorepiko raki raki Raki munoritorepiko raki Munoritorepiko raki Raki</p>	<p><b>Not knowing there is some one who looks after them</b> Luck <b>Who assist them to cross the river</b> Luck <b>To pull you out of a burnt veld</b> <b>Luck</b> <b>To help you jump over thorns</b> Luck <b>To save you from danger</b></p> <p><b>I hear you say lucky enough I have survived</b> <b>Lucky enough I have survived</b> Again I hear you say <b>lucky enough I survived</b> <b>lucky enough I've escaped</b> I hear say <b>lucky enough I escaped</b> Then I hear you say <b>lucky enough I survived</b></p> <p>Luck where do yo <b>get luck from</b> Luck Where do you <b>get luck from?</b> Luck Luck where do you <b>get luck from</b> Where do you <b>get luck from?</b> <b>Luck</b></p>
3.10	<p><b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b></p> <p><b>Tozeza baba</b> Imi baba manyanya kurova mai</p> <p>Kutuka mai Moti isu vana tofara seyi kana mai vachichema pameso pedu Kana mai vachingochema pamberi pedu apa Vati ponda hako ndifire vana vangu</p> <p>Imi baba manyanya kurova mai</p> <p>Tozeza baba Vauya vadhakwa Tozeza baba Vauya vadhakwa</p> <p>Chavanotadza chiiko Chinimirira madhakwa Idoro here rinoti Mai ngava rohwe Idoro here rinoti mai ngavatukwe</p> <p>Tozeza baba Baba chidhakwa Tozeza baba Tozeza baba vauya vakorewa</p>	<p><b>We are uncomfortable with father</b> You Father, beating mother is getting out of hand Scolding mother How do you expect us to be happy when mother cries before our eyes When mother cries before us She says go on murder me I will die for my kids You Father your, habit of beating mother is getting out of hand</p> <p>Father causes us discomfort When he comes <b>home drunk</b> Father causes us dscomfort When he comes <b>home drunk</b></p> <p><b>What is it that she does wrong?</b> <b>That has to wait until you get drunk</b> <b>Is it beer that says?</b> <b>Mother should be beaten</b> <b>Is it beer that says mother should be scold</b></p> <p><b>Father causes us discomfort</b> <b>Father is a drunk</b> <b>Father causes us discomfort</b> <b>Father causes us discomfort when he comes back drunk</b></p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
3.11	<p><b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b></p> <p><b>Dame Rinotapira</b></p> <p>Inga pasi rasunama/raminama Unetepapera rumwe rumwe Tinepera rumwe ruwe</p> <p>Chinetipedza chivaraidze Vaneuya nedame rinetapira vaneuya nerumi runetapira Ingidze chivarairwa Ingidze chiputirwa Ukaona guyu kutsvukira mukati rizere masvesve</p> <p><b>Tineriwona guyu kutsvukira mukati rizere tumbuyu</b></p>	<p><b>Sweet information</b></p> <p><b>Really, the world is up side down</b> We are going to die one after the other We are dying one after the other</p> <p>What kills us is entertainment They come with sweet news They come with sweet tongues We get mesmerised We get blinded If you see a fig fruit changing colour it's infested with ants We see a fig fruit changing colour inside it is infested with fruit attacking organisms</p>
3.12	<p><b>OLIVER MTUKUDZI</b></p> <p><b>Ndotangira Poi</b></p> <p>Dai ndakaziva haitungamire Ndigadai ndakaramba ndiri pwere yepamakumbo</p> <p>Zenze tuku zenze tuku ndayaruka Zenze tuku zenze tuku ndakura</p> <p>Zvikanzi uriwedangwe chitonga tione Nyararayi henyu samanyanga inga ndimi mhukahuru wani</p> <p>Dai ndakaziva haitungamire Ndigadai ndakaramba ndiri pwere yepamakumbo</p> <p>Zvepamusha uno zvandiremera Haiwa zvandiwandira Vakati uriwedangwe chitonga tione Nyararai henyu samanyanga inga ndimi mhukahuru wani</p> <p>Makumi masere ashaya neakomba Ndotangira poi Kutangira poi poi Ndakaziva haitungamire</p> <p>Ndotangira poi Kutangira poi poi Nyararai henyu samanyanga ndimi mhukahuru wani</p>	<p><b>Where do I start</b></p> <p><b>Realisation should hve happened first</b> <b>I woud have refused when still b aby</b></p> <p><b>Proudly I though I was grown up</b> <b>Haughtily I thought I was grown up</b></p> <p><b>They said you are the first born go ahead and rule</b> <b>Be quiet you are an elephany y the way</b> <b>Had I known Should have come first</b> <b>I would have reained a baby stil on the lap</b></p> <p><b>Issues in this home are too heavy for me</b> <b>No its too much</b> <b>They said you are the first boart born go ahead and rule</b></p> <p><b>Eighty years</b> <b>Where do I start</b> <b>Where do I start</b> <b>Had I known doesn't happen first</b></p> <p><b>Where do I start</b> <b>Starting where</b> <b>Be quiet Elephant you are a big animal</b></p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
4	<b>SIMON CHIMBETU</b>	
4.1	<p><b>Ndiwe mudzimai wangu</b></p> <p>Ndiwe chete Watova mai vangu Ndiwe mudzimai wangu</p> <p>Tochengeta hama zvakanaka Ndiwe chete watove mai vangu Tochengeta hama zvakanaka Tose nekuti tatova nemusha</p> <p>Musi mumwe wandinorwara kubasa Ndiwe wodziisa mvura pamoto</p> <p>Musi umwe wandinorwara kubasa ndiwe unondichengeta</p> <p>tochengeta hama zvakanaka tose nekuti tatove nemusha ndiwe chete mudzimai wangu ndiwe chete</p>	<p><b>It's you my wife</b></p> <p><b>It's you alone</b> <b>You have become my mother</b> <b>It's you my wife</b></p> <p><b>Let us take care of relatives well</b> <b>You have become my mother</b> <b>Let us take care of relatives well</b> <b>Together because we have a home</b></p> <p><b>One day I when I fall sick</b> <b>You 're the one to warm water for me</b></p> <p><b>One day when I get sick</b> <b>You will take care of me</b></p> <p><b>Let's take care relatives well</b> <b>Together because we have a home</b> <b>It's only you my wife</b> <b>It's only you</b></p>
4.2	<p><b>SIMON CHIMBETU</b></p> <p><b>Dzandipedza mafuta</b></p> <p>Honai varume kuonda kwandaita Tarisai varume kuonda kwandaita Honai varume kuonda kwandaita</p> <p>Inyaya yeshanje yandipedza mafuta Shanje dzandinadzo dzemandorokwati Pane uya wandakasarudza Akanoti pote ndapindwa nechando Akanoti simu ndopindwa nechando</p> <p>Shanje dzandiadzo dzemandorokwati Akanoti pote ndapindwa nechando Honayi varume ndirapiseiwo Idi varume ndirapiseyiwo</p> <p>Kuondakwandaita Inyaya yeshanje yandipedza mafuta</p> <p>Shanje dzacho dzemandindorokwati</p> <p>Akanoti pote hana yotorova Idi ndirapiseiwo Chokwadi varume ndirapiseyiwo</p>	<p><b>It has left me fatless</b></p> <p>See, gentlemen how I have lost weight Look, gentlemen how I have lost weight See, gentlemen how I have lost weight</p> <p>It's because of jealous that I am fatless The jealous I have is real There is that one that I chose If she turns the corner I feel cold If she stands to go I feel cold</p> <p>The jealousy I have is real If she turns the corner I feel cold Look, gentlemen have me treated Surely, gentlemen have me treated</p> <p>How thin I have become It's because of jealousy that has left me fatless The jealousy I have is real</p> <p>If she turns the corner my heart palpitates Surely have me treated Truly, gentlemen have me treated</p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
4.3	<p><b>SIMON CHIMBETU</b></p> <p><b>Mudzimai wangu</b></p> <p>Ndaifunga nguva iye apo ndai gara zvakana Ndaifunga nguva iye apo ndai gara zvakana</p> <p>Mudzimai wangu iye Julie ndiye wandaiti mai vemba Mudzimai wangu iye Julie ndiye wandaiti mai vemba</p> <p>Ndagumburwa pabasa ndingatsamwa seyi ndainyevenuka ndaona Julie Ndagumburwa kubasa ndingatsamwa seyi ndainyevenuka ndaona Julie</p> <p>Pasis riya rapinduka Pasiriya rapinduka</p> <p>handichina mufaro ini Pasis riya rapinduka Pasiriya rapinduka</p> <p>handichina mufaro ini</p> <p>Pasi riya rapinduka pasi riya rapinduka</p> <p>Handichina mufaro ini</p> <p>Kubasa kunotengwa naforomani, kumba kwakutongwa na iye Julie Kubasa kunotengwa naforomani, kumba kwakutongwa na iye Julie Hanzi takafanana iyeka neni, mwana sikana nemwana komana Hanzi takafanana iyeka neni, mwana sikana nemwana komana</p>	<p><b>My wife</b></p> <p>I remember that time when I used to live well I remember that time when I used to live well</p> <p>My wife Julie I considered her the mother of the house My wife Julie I considered her the mother of the house</p> <p>When I got upset at work, however angry I became, I'd loosen up when I saw Julie When I got upset at work, however angry I became, I'd loosen up when I saw Julie</p> <p>the world is upside down, the world is upside down I'm not happy any more the world is upside down, the world is upside down I'm not happy any more</p> <p>The world is up side down, the world is upside down I'm not happy any more</p> <p>At work, the foreman rules, at home it is Julie who now rules At work, the foreman rules, at home it is Julie who now rules She says we are the same, girl child and boy child She says we are the same, girl child and boy child</p>
4.4	<p><b>SIMON CHIMBETU</b></p> <p><b>Saina</b></p> <p>Vana vevamwe vano saina Vana vevamwa vanosimuka ka vachipindamumbure</p> <p>Chisimuka ka mwana wevanhu Vana vevanwe vanorangana wani vachipinda umambure</p> <p>Vana vevamwe vanosimka vachitamba</p> <p>Neweweka simuka ka uchitamba Newewe simuka ka uchitamba mwana wevanhu Vana vevamwe vanorangana wani newewe chirangana</p> <p>Newewe chirangana Nemimwo chiranganayi vana vevanhu Nemiwo chirangayi vana vevanhu</p>	<p><b>Sign</b></p> <p>Some people's children sign Some people's children stand up to get into nets stand child some people's children promise to get into nets Some people's children stand to dance</p> <p>you too stand and dance You too stand and dance child some people's children promise each other you too make a promise You two make a promise You too children make a promise You too children make a promise</p>



	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
5	<b>LEONARD ZHAKATA</b>	
5.1	<p><b>Maruva enyika</b></p> <p>Zvakauya seyi mambo Kutisikira vanasikana <b>Maruva enyika vanasikana</b> Vetsiye nyoro verunako Madzimai ngaarumbidzwe Deno vasiko madzimai varume Nyika ino iri <b>yembavha nemhondi chete</b></p> <p>Vageza zvavo vazvidyira vanasikana</p> <p>Migwagwa yabwinya necheno iyo</p> <p>Buda mumba madeuka zuva mumwe wangu Guta riya <b>rashongedzwa</b> Zvakauya seyi kutisikira vanasikana</p> <p>Isu tinotenda baba isu tinotenda Baba tinotenda</p> <p>Tarira nyika iye Yakatekeshera madzimai Hona nyika yofashukira madzimai Iwe ndiwe wakaita seyi usina wako Sarura wako mumwe chete wekuvimba naye</p> <p>Asina hamhenzo zvake Asina ifuza iro</p> <p>Tarira zvinoita vamwe mukudanana Mukudanana Honawo zvinoita vamwe mukudanana Yemura zvoita vamwe mukudanana Vanodanana Asi rega kutorwa moyo Kana kuchiva</p> <p>Zviitiko zvenyika Ungazvikwanise <b>bhebhi</b> Zviitiko zvenyika ungazvikwanise</p> <p>Chenjera <b>poison yakadirwa mutsime rinocherwa nemunhu wese</b> Ndiyani achararama pamukondombera</p> <p>Vakange vauya zvakanaka madzimai Kuti panga mazano Kuti <b>varaidza madzimai</b></p>	<p><b>Flowers of the world</b></p> <p>How did it come about, Almighty To create girl children Flowers of the nation, girl children The soft-hearted and beautiful Women should worshipped If they were not there, gentlemen This country would belong to thieves and murderers When they have bathed, having eaten girl children Brighten the roads with smartness</p> <p>Go outside late in the evening, my friend The city is now decorated How did it come about, to create girl children We are grateful father we are grateful Father we are grateful</p> <p>Look at the country It's inundated with women Look, its overflowing with women What's wrong with you not to have one Choose one for yourself to trust</p> <p>He who doesn't have it's his problem He who doesn't have is a fool</p> <p>Look at what others do when in love In love Watch what others do when in love Admire what others do when in love They love each other Don't let your heart be captured Or being envious</p> <p>What happens in the world? Are you able to deal with it, baby? Are you able to deal with it?</p> <p>Beware of the poisoned communal well</p> <p>Who will survive in the face of the epidemic</p> <p>They had come well, women To advise us To entertain us, women</p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
6	<b>PAMHIDZAI MBIRIMI (PACIHERA)</b>	
6.1	<p><b>Musadadira varume</b>  Musadadira varume woye  Wangu ndisinyoro  Vasikana handimborara vane rudo  Vasikana handimborara vanenyambo  Kana hope</p> <p>Vatete murume wenyu mutupo ndiani  Vasikana handimborara murehwa vanotandara  Kana hope</p> <p>Sisi murume wenyu mutupo ndiyani  Vasikana handimborara chikonazi vane rudo  Vasikana handimborara chikonazi vakakora  Kana hope</p> <p>Ko muroora mukadzi wamhofu  Vasikana handimborara mhofu vane rudo  Vasikana handimborara mhofu vakakora  Kana hope</p> <p>Hatigone kurarama vasipo varume woye</p>	<p><b>Don't be disdainful to your men</b>  Don't be disdainful to your men  Mine is of the Sinyoro totem  Ladies I don't sleep because he is loving  Ladies I don't sleep, he is funny  I don't get sleepy at all</p> <p>Aunt what's the totem of your husband  Ladies, I don't sleep, Mrehwa whiles up time  I don't get sleepy at all</p> <p>Sister what is your husband's totem  I don't sleep Chikonaz is loving  Ladies I don't sleep chikonaz is extra good  I don't get sleepy at all</p> <p>How about sister in-law mhofu's wife?  Ladies I don't sleep mhofu is loving  Ladies I don't sleep mhofu is extra good  I don't get sleepy at all</p> <p>We can't live without them, men</p>
6.2	<p><b>Haitongwe nedemo</b>  Ndaiti tichachembedzana murume wangu  Chinovaka musha rudo kunzwisana kwete mari  Handina kuvinga mota kana mari  Ndakavinga iwe</p> <p>Ndaiti zvimwe tichachembedzana murume wangu</p> <p>Rudo harutengwe nendarama  Imba haitongwe nedemo  Rudo harutengwe nendarama  Ndati tereerera mumwe wangu</p> <p>Hona mavanga ndiwe unondirova  Shamwari idzodzo dzinokunyepera  Shamwari idzo dzinokufurira</p> <p>Ndirege ndiende inini kunamai vangu  Ndirege ndiende inini kuna mai vangu</p> <p>Pamba haurare unodzoka mangwanani</p> <p>Garokundirova  Garokundishusha  Garokundituka  Garokundishusha</p> <p>Chero usipo iwewe ndinorarama  Rudo harutengwe nendarama  Rudo harutengwe nemari  Terera shamwari</p>	<p><b>It can not be ruled using an axe</b>  I thought we would grow old together  What builds a home is love not money  I didn't come for a car  I came for you</p> <p>I thought we would grow old together my husband  Love can not be bought with money  A house cannot be ruled using an axe  Love can not be bought with money  Listen my husband</p> <p>Look at these scars, you beat me  Those friends lie to you  Those friends mislead you</p> <p>Let me go to my mother  Let me go to my mother</p> <p>You don't sleep at home, you come back in the morning  You beat me time after time  You abuse me time after time  You scold me time after time  You abuse me time after time</p> <p>Even when you not there I will survive  Love cannot be bought with money  Love can not be bought with money  Listen my friend</p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
6.3	<p><b>RUMBIDZAI PAMHIDZAI (PACHIHHERA)</b></p> <p><b>Nemoyo</b></p> <p>Mutambire nemoyo unoda uti lovie waswera seyi</p> <p>Kubasa kwenyu maswera seyi daddy</p> <p>Kumunda kwaswera seyi</p> <p>Mumbundire nemoyo unoda uti love waswera seyi</p> <p>Sadza renyu munoda ripiswe seyi</p> <p>Mai vangu ndichikura vakanditi uchatu wawanikwa</p> <p>Murume wako ndimambo</p> <p>Mabasa aanoshanda anorwadza kuitira iwe</p> <p>Saka mupe rudo asati abuda</p> <p>Saka mupe rudo paanodzoka kubva kubasa</p> <p>Varume tinoda kudiwa kani</p> <p>Isu tinoda kudiwa kani</p>	<p><b>Heartily</b></p> <p>Welcome him heartily and say my love how was your day</p> <p>How was work daddy</p> <p>How was it at the field</p> <p>Hug him heartily and say love how was your day</p> <p>When I was growing up my mother said, when you get married</p> <p>Your husband is a king</p> <p>The work that he does is hard for your benefit</p> <p>Therefore, give him love before he leaves</p> <p>Therefore, give him love when he comes back home</p> <p>Men, we want to be loved</p> <p>We like being loved</p>
6.4	<p><b>PAMHIDZAI MBIRIMI (PACHIHHERA)</b></p> <p><b>Murume wangu</b></p> <p>Murume wangu ndinomuda</p> <p>Baba vevana vangu ndinovada</p> <p>Handingasiye murume nekuda kwehama dzemurume wangu</p> <p>Ndikasiya murume wangu anosafa vana vangu</p> <p>Handingasiye murume wangu nekuda kwamwene vangu vane godo</p> <p>Handingasiye murume wangu nekuda kwavamwe vangu vakajaidza mwana wavo</p> <p>Handingasiye murume wangu nekuda kwavatete</p> <p>Handingasiye imba yangu nekuda kwavatete vakarambwa nemurume vakatadza kuvaka imba yavo</p> <p>Handingasiye imba yangu nekuda kwavatete nzenza pfambi</p> <p>Kana iri hondo ngaiwuye</p> <p>Ndinorwira musha wangu</p> <p>Murume wangu anondida</p> <p>Neni ndinomuda</p> <p>Musha wangu ndinouda</p> <p>Haiwa tinopedzerana</p> <p>Neni tinopedzeraa</p> <p>Ndinichihera</p> <p>Ndini madhuve</p> <p>Ndini maSibanda</p> <p>Ndini soko</p> <p>Ndini mamoyo</p> <p>Ndini magumbo</p> <p>Ndini mwene wazvo</p>	<p><b>My husband</b></p> <p>I love my husband</p> <p>I love my children's father</p> <p>I <b>can't leave</b> my husband because of his relatives</p> <p><b>If I leave</b> my husband it's my children who'll suffer</p> <p>I cannot leave my husband because of my mother-in-law</p> <p>I can't leave my husband because my mother-in-law did not properly bring up her child</p> <p><b>I cannot leave my husband because of</b> husband's paternal aunt</p> <p>I can not leave my house because of a divorced sister-in-law who failed to build her own house</p> <p>I cannot leave my house because of an immoral sister-in-law, a prostitute</p> <p>If it's war let it come</p> <p>I will fight for my home</p> <p>My husband loves me</p> <p>I also love him</p> <p>I love my my home</p> <p><b>We will settle it</b></p> <p><b>With me it will be settled</b></p> <p>I'm of the Chihera totem</p> <p>I'm of the Dube totem</p> <p>I'm of the Sibanda totem</p> <p>I'm of the Soko totem</p> <p>I'm of Moyo totem</p> <p><b>I'm of the gumbo totem</b></p> <p><b>I'm of the mwene wazvo totem</b></p>

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<b>7</b>	<b>PRINCE MUSARURWA</b>	
<b>7.1</b>	<p><b>Ndiyani Jongwe</b></p> <p>Ndiyani jongwe pamusha pano Nderipi jongwe rinokukuridza pano Ndiudze maimwana jongwe rinokukuridza pamusha pano</p> <p>Hugogodera here kana hugube hunhubu here zvimwe Kana hundurai Nguva neni iwe hauna iwe zvekutandara neni Nguva zhinji unopedzera kumadzisawira Mbatya dzangu hauwache dzinowachwa nemusevenzi Unoda ndiroore musevenzi nditaurire</p> <p>Hunhubu zvimwe hundururani Hugogodera pamusha pangu bodo, hugube pamusha pangu bodo</p>	<p><b>Who is the cockerel?</b></p> <p><b>Who is the cockerel in this home?</b> <b>Which is the cockerel</b> <b>Tell me woman the cockerel that crows in this home</b> <b>Is it stubbornness, or you're a cheat, or you are incorrigible</b> <b>You don't have time for me</b> <b>You spend much of your tie with friends</b> <b>You don't wash my clothes</b> <b>Do you want me to marry the maid, tell me?</b></p> <p><b>Are you a cheat or you just incorrigible?</b> <b>Stubbornness in this home no, cheat no, in this home</b></p>
<b>8</b>	<b>STEVE MAKONI</b>	
<b>8.1</b>	<p><b>Mwanangu</b></p> <p>Ndiwe here ungavawatsa nembama Ndini ndakakurera kutsika ivhu rezimbabwe Kufamba nemotokari Zvakabva muneni</p> <p>Womisidzananeni zvibhakera Hazvineyi mwana wekubereka Womisidzana neni zvibhakera Simba rese raunaro rakabva muneni Ohiyaya oyo</p> <p>Ndiye here mwana wokubereka ndiye angava watse mbama Womisidzana neni zvibhakera Kumisidzana neni zvibhakera Hazvineyi mwana wekubereka Simba rese raunaro rakabva muneni</p>	<p><b>My child</b></p> <p>Is it you really to slap your parent I'm the one who brought you up for you to walk on the Zimbabwean soil Driving a car around It all came from me</p> <p>Standing to fight me It 's all right my child Standing to fight me All the strength you have came from me Yes, yes</p> <p>Is it really his own child to slap him? Standing to fight me Standing to fight me It's all right my child <b>All the strength you have</b> came from me</p>
<b>8.2</b>	<p><b>Handiende</b></p> <p>Handiende Baba vemwana Baba vemwanawo Handiende</p> <p>Musha wandinoziva ndiwoyu Dikita misodzi zvakaerera</p> <p>Kusvika wandiudza pandimire chaipo ipo Handiende Kuenda handiende</p>	<p><b>I won't go</b></p> <p>I won't go Father of my children Father of my children I won't go</p> <p>The only hoe I know is this one Sweat and tears flowed</p> <p>Unti you tell me <b>where I stand</b> <b>I won't go</b> <b>Go, I won't</b></p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
	<p>Kana vari mainini ngavauye togara tose Inga vakuru vaiti museve wakagumira pamu zuku zuku zukuru Baba vemwana togara tese Handiende</p> <p>Nhasi wondiudza kumusha</p> <p>Musha wandinoziva ndiwoyu Ndogarira vana vangu Handiende</p> <p>Makore mangani tiri tese Vana vangani tiri tese Handiende Ndogarira vana vangu Kuenda handiende</p>	<p>If it's another woman let her come <b>Elders say that an arrow is stopped by a nephew</b> Father of my child we <b>will stay together</b> <b>I won't go</b></p> <p><b>Today you tell me about the home I came from</b> <b>The only home I know is this one</b> <b>I will stay for my children</b> <b>I won't go</b></p> <p><b>How many years have we been together?</b> <b>How many children have we had together?</b> <b>I won't go</b> <b>I will stay for my children</b> <b>Go, I won't go</b></p>
8.3	<p><b>STEVE MAKONI</b></p> <p><b>Mhou yangu</b></p> <p>Vaitaura vakuru vakare Vanotaura vazvino vematare Chawawana idya nehama Ndinobvumirana navo</p> <p>Kwangu kwaoma sahwira Iwe waibvisa ndomhanyira kwako Ndomhanyira kwako haungandisiye ndichiziya nenzara</p> <p>Hukama hukama haugezwe neruredzo Pane kudyidzane Koita kudyira zviedzo Ungava muningina kana mukoma Pane zvisingadyidzanwe</p> <p>Mhou yangu varume Tsirir yangu iyoyi Hatidyidzane Tsirir yangu kungovaviwawo Hatidyidzane Fura neyako ndofura neyangu nekoko Zeya neyako urikoko Ndofuraneyangu ndirikoko</p> <p>Mhou yangu Mhou yangu hatidyidzane Mhou yangu ikasisa varume ndoikama ndega Hatidyidzane</p> <p>Mhou yangu varume Tsirir yangu iyoyi Mhou yangu siyayi ndoikama ndega Tsirir yangu iyoyi siyai ndoikama ndega Hatidyidzane</p>	<p><b>My cow</b></p> <p>Elders would say The courts say Spend what you have earned with relatives I agree with them</p> <p>When it is dry at my place When your crops are ripe I will come to you you will not let me starve</p> <p><b>You can not wash away a relationship</b> There is what can be shared <b>Then to eat to tempt the devil</b> Be it a brother <b>There is what can not be shared</b></p> <p><b>My cow gentlemen</b> <b>My heifer</b> <b>We don't eat it together</b> <b>When my heifer feels itchy</b> <b>We don't eat together</b> <b>Graze yours there and I will graze mine over there</b> <b>Masticate the cud with yours over there</b> <b>I graze with my there</b></p> <p><b>My cow</b> <b>My cow we don't eat together</b> <b>When my cow is ready for milking</b> <b>We don't eat together</b></p> <p><b>My cow gentlemen</b> <b>My heifer</b> <b>Leave my cow I will milt on my own</b> <b>Leave my heifer I will milk it onmy own</b> <b>We don't eat together</b></p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	
8.4	<b>STEVE MAKONI</b>  <b>Handidye</b>  Kana usipo handidye Kana usipo handirare  Ndiyani anerudo rwakadai Fume mangwana maziso ngwerewere Kana usipo handidye Apedza hupfu ndiani  Hanzi batai baba ava mai varere mugomba umu ndevkwavo Risati ravira zvachonyana  Ndiyani ane rudo rwechokwadi Pasi pano aiwa kutandadzana Kuvaraidzana chete  Ndiyani ane rudo rwechokwadi Pangava parufu chaipo Zvikomba ndozvinotanga kusvika Kusvika tikubateyi maoko zvachonyana  Pangava pamuchatozvikomba ndozvinotanga kusvika Hanzi makorokoto zvachonyana  Ndiani ane rudo rwechokwadi Pasi pano kutandadzana  Hanzi vasikana kwafura mhengo Baba vakafamba	I don't eat  When you're not there I don't eat Who has finished the mealie- meal  Who has this kind of love? The following day bright eyed When you're not there I don't eat Who has finished the mealie-meal  Guard this men, lying in the grave is his wife Before sunset they are making eyes at each other Who has true love We whiling up together time in this world It's keeping each other company  Who has real love Even at a funeral Boyfriends arrive first On arrival they give you their hand to condole, and make eyes at the woman Even at a wedding, boyfriends arrive first Silently they say congratulations, they make eyes at the woman  Who has true love We are giving each other company in this world They say girls you're free Father has travelled
8.5	<b>STEVE MAKONI</b>  <b>Chakafukidza dzimba matenga</b>  Inga muroyi anofa wani Kana n'anga dzinofa wani Madzimambo vanezuva ravo wani  Mai vevana manyanya makuhwa Baba vevana vanoshusha Baba vemwana haiwa zvanyanya Hauna kana zuva rimwe ravakakuudza zvamumba mavo  Dare ravanga gara newe ndereyi  Mai vevana ziana Inga vanotukana mudzimba mavo Havataure Vanodzorana pachavo	<b>Homes have secrets</b>  Even a witch dies Even a witch doctor dies Kings have their day of death also  Too much gossiping, my wife My husband is abusive My husband it is too much Not a single day have they told you their own family problems  What is it that they can sit down to discuss with you My wife you're ZIANA But they exchange words in their home They don't publicise They settle it on their own

	<b>ARTIST &amp; LYRICS</b>	<b>ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION</b>
	<p>Chakafukidza dzimba matenga Vanotukana havataure</p> <p>Vanotukana havataure</p> <p>Inga wakura wani Wakati unogarira vana vako</p> <p>Ziva zvemumba mako mai vevana Zvikaramba zvakadaro tichanetsana Pamusha pano Vachakuseka zinzenza rakafumura imbayero</p>	<p>Homes have secrets They scold each other but they don't publicise it They scold each other but they don't publicise it</p> <p>But you're grown up You said you will stay because of your children Mind your own family problems If it continues we will have conflict in this home They will laugh at you an immoral woman who lets out family secrets</p>
9	<b>EDITH WEUTONGA</b>	
9.1	<p><b>Nhaka</b></p> <p>Baba mukuru mandigona Babamukuru mandigona</p> <p>Kufirwa imhosva here Zvamatora musha Mati tosara payi</p> <p>Ndofira musango Ndofira musango Ini musha ndinawo</p> <p>Rufu rune shanje Rwanditorera baba vevana Imba matora Pfuma matora</p> <p>Ndofira musango Ndofira musango Ini musha ndinawo</p> <p>Nhaka yevana vangu Yavakasiirwa nababa vavo Vofire musango Musha ndinawo</p>	<p><b>Inheritance</b></p> <p>Brother-in-law you've hurt me Brother-in-law you've hurt me</p> <p>Is losing a husband a crime? That you have taken our home Where are we going to leave?</p> <p>I will die homeless I will die homeless When I have a home</p> <p>Death is jealous It took the father of my child You taken the house You have taken the property</p> <p>I will die homeless I will die homeless When I have a home</p> <p>My children's inheritance Left behind by their father They will die homeless When I have a home</p>

	ARTIST & LYRICS	ENGLISH TRANSLATED VERSION
10.	<b>PRUDENCE KATOMENI</b>	
10.1	<b>Baba Bhoyi</b>  Baba bhoyi Baba Bhoyi Inga takapanana chitsidzo chedu Baba bhoyi wandiregera Baba bhoyi ndabhoyikana  Inga takapana chitsidzo chedu Tiri vaviri tovaka mhuri yedu Handisi mujere? Asi nyama inoneta wandinetesa  Baba bhoyi baba bhoyi Baba bhoyi baba bhoyi Ndabhoyikana ini ndabhoyikana	<b>My husband</b>  My husband, my husband Isn't it we made vows <b>you are neglecting me</b> My husband I'm bored  Isn't it we made vows The two of us we build a family I'm not in a prison The flesh tires, you have made me tired  My husband, my husband My husband, my husband I'm bored, me I'm bored
10.2	<b>BP yangu yakwira</b>  BP yangu yakwira BP yangu yakwira Kufunga zvakadzama pamusoro pehupenyu Kufunga zvakadzama pamusoro pehupenyu  Kufunga zvakawanda mangwana ndinodyeyiko  Kufunga zvakawanda pamusoro pehupenyu Kufunga zvakadzama mangwana ndinodyeyiko  Mangwa ndinopfekeyiko Nyarara kuchema shiri dzedenga dzinorarama wani Nyarara kuchema shiri dzedenga dzinorarama wani  Gorerino rino mabare mumwe gore rinouya munovapeyiko  Nyarara kuchema shiri dzedenga dzinorarama wani Mhuka dzesango dzinorarama wani Oh vana vangu ndinovapeyi ko  Nyarara kuchema Nyarara kuchema Nyarara kuchema	<b>My blood pressure has shot up</b>  My blood pressure has shot up My blood pressure has shot up thinking deeply about life thinking deeply about life  thinking deeply about what I'm going to eat tomorrow thinking deeply about life thinking deeply about what I'm going to eat tomorrow Tomorrow what am I going to wear stop crying birds of the air survive stop crying birds of the air survive  This year you have a baby and next year another one, what are going to give them stop crying birds of the air survive wild animals also survive What will I give my children?  stop crying stop crying stop crying



## APPENDIX 5: Songs and Release dates

Song	Context and theme	Personae	Artist	Year released
Rudo Imoto	Marriage love marital relations	Man advising women	Marshall Munhumumwe	1988
Mbereko Yakaramba	Marriage values	man	Simon Chimbetu	1998
Dzandipedza Mafuta	Love relations	man	Simon Chimbetu	1998
Dhindindi Full time	Love relations	Man and woman	Paul Matavire	1990
Dhiyabhorosi Nyoka	Betrayal	man	Paul Matavire	1991
Mbabvu Yangu	Marital relations	man	Oliver Mtukudzi	2009
Tanga wandida	Corruption, moral decadence	Man and woman	Paul Matavire	1988
Todii/What shall we do	Disease marital and love relations	woman	Oliver Mtukudzi	1998
Chipuka ndipemwenje/The most ugly	Love, marital status	man	Paul Matavire	2006
Tapera/We have been decimated	Disease moral decadence, relations	man	Oliver Mtukudzi	2016
Maruva enyika/Flowers of the world	Love relations, identities	man	Leonard Zhakata	2006
Neria	Inheritance, inequality	man	Oliver Mtukudzi	1993
Nhaka/Inheritance	Identities, inequality	woman	Edith Weutonga	2015
Handiende/I won't go	Divorce, inequality	woman		1994
Tozeza Baba/We fear father	Woman on the verge of being divorced	children	Oliver Mtukudzi	2005
Wagona You have done well	Woman husband appreciating wife wife feels abused	Husband and wife	Oliver Mtukudzi	2010
Haitongwe Nedemo/It can not be run by an axe	Physical and mental abuse	woman	Pamhidzai Mbirimi	2018
Nemoyo/Heartly	Marriage values role identities	woman	Pamhidzai Mbirimi	2016
Mwanangu/My child	Identities, man to man abuse	man	Steve Makoni	1992
Mhou Yangu/My cow	Marital status	Man	Steve Makoni	1998
Ndiyani Jongwe/Who is the cockerel?	Mental and physical abuse , reversed	man	Prince Musarurwa	2013
Raki? /Lucky	Corruption, identities	man	Oliver Mtukudzi	2001
Murume wangu/My my	Marriage values	woman	Pamhidzai Mbirimi (Pachihera)	2014
Kuonererwa	Pomp, moral decadence	man	Mtukudzi	1996

<b>Baba bhoyi/my husband</b>	Sexual /physical abuse	woman	Prudence Katomeni	2000
Bp yangu yakwira/My Bp has shot up	Sexual and physical abuse	Woman and man	Prudence Katomeni	2002
Mudzimai Wangu/My wife	Gender equality	man	Simon Chimbetu	2000
Saina /Sign	Values	man	Simon Chimbetu	1994